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DYING



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T H E
Dying Speeches

A N D
BEHAVIOUR

Of the several
STATE PRISONERS
That have been Executed the last 300 Years.

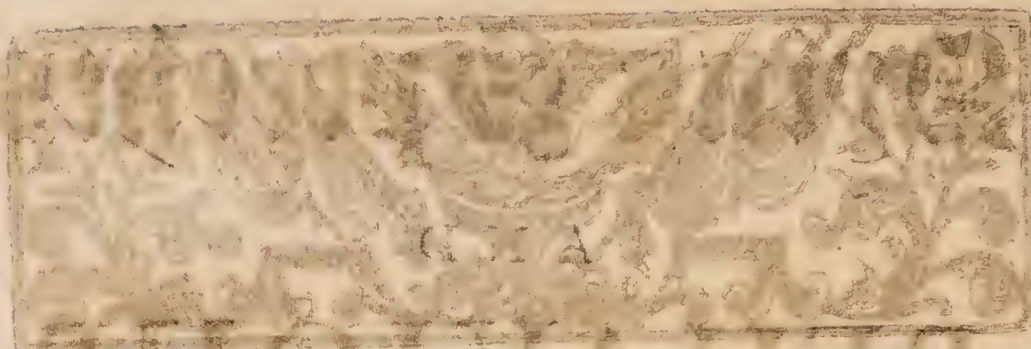
W I T H
Their several C H A R A C T E R S from
the best Historians, as *Cambden, Spotswood,*
Clarendon, Sprat, Burnet, &c.

A N D
A T A B L E shewing how the respective
S E N T E N C E S were Executed, and which
of them were Mitigated, or Pardon'd.

Being a proper S U P P L E M E N T to the
S T A T E - T R Y A L S.

L O N D O N:

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BEHAVIOR

OF THE

STATE PRISONERS

THEIR CONDUCT AND DISPOSITION

PRELACE

THESE STATE PRISONERS

THEIR CONDUCT AND DISPOSITION

(GIVEN BY THE PRISONERS)

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THE

PREFACE.

THE World has been already entertain'd with the Tryals of those Gentlemen, who have been charg'd with High Treason, against the several *de facto* or *de jure* Governments, that have succeeded each other in this Kingdom, in the last three Centuries.

But it would have added much to the Satisfaction of the Reader, I perceive, if he had been inform'd which of them were Executed, and how they behav'd in their last Moments: I have therefore not only Collected the Dying Speeches and Behaviour of the most Eminent amongst them, but their respective Characters, from the greatest Hands;

The P R E F A C E.
as *Cambden*, *Spotswood*, *Clarendon*, *Bishop Burnet*, and the late *Bishop of Rochester*.

Whether this Regard to the Words of dying Men proceeds from an Imagination that one who stands on the Confines of each State, has juster Notions of both, than he, whose Views seem more remote; or from an Opinion, that the Character of the Man is best understood from his Behaviour in this last Scene of Action: It must however be admitted, that an Account of his preceding Life, a Relation of the constant Tenor of his Actions, and his unbyass'd Discourses, while under the Enjoyment of an easy Fortune, must certainly contribute something towards forming a right Judgment of him.

Many indeed take upon them to judge of the Cause, as well as the Man, purely from what he says at that important Hour, and great Stress they lay upon every the minutest Action; they take his Words as the Result of a sincere disinterested Mind, not sway'd by any secular Motives, and therefore then best qualify'd to make a Judgment of the State of Things.

But 'tis with great difficulty, if ever the contrary Party will admit, that the Constancy, Serenity, or even the Exultation of the Sufferer at his Execution, are any Signs he is in the right; or that the Justification of the
En-

The P R E F A C E.

Enterprize at the last Gasp, adds any weight to the Justice of his Cause, tho' the Suffering Side are always ready to ascribe much to the Resolution of their Martyr'd Hero.

Indeed, we find Men of the most distant Principles have dy'd, not only with equal Intrepidity, but equal Hopes of future Joys: We find the Cavalier looking on the Cause of God's Vice-gerent as the Cause of God, and bravely embracing Death and Sufferings, in Defence of his Lawful King, and the ancient Constitution: Soon after, we behold the Regicide, at his Execution, in Raptures at the Thoughts that God had been so gracious to permit him to imbrue his Hands in Royal Blood, and made him an Instrument of throwing three Kingdoms into Confusion. He tells the World, as he is turning off, *the Saints would gladly leave their bless'd Abodes to dye again in such a Cause.*

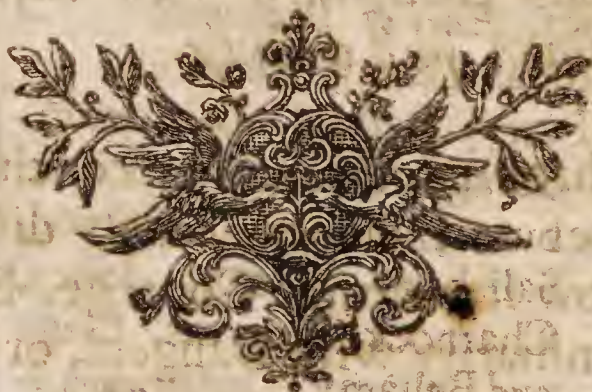
But whatever else may be concluded from such Scenes as these, we easily discern from hence, how far natural Courage, Education, and a Familiarity with Dangers, or the Spirit of Enthusiasm, can carry a Man.

To the Speeches and Characters I have added a Table, shewing the Punishments appropriated to every Crime mention'd in the *State Tryals*, and which of them were executed, and which of them mitigated, or totally pardon'd.

The P R E F A C E.

And the two first Tryals being for Heresy, I have, by way of Introduction, shewn how this Crime was anciently try'd and punish'd, and how at this Day ; and given some Precedents of the *Writ de Heretico comburendo*, and of the Warrant for issuing it.

From this short Account, the Reader will judge of the Usefulness of these Sheets in general, and more particularly to those Gentlemen who have purchas'd the Tryals, and who seem indeed to expect something of this kind to compleat that Work.





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A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

O F

The several PRISONERS mention'd in the
STATE TRYALS; shewing how
the respective Sentences were executed on
those who were Attainted, and which of
them were Acquitted.

1407	William Thorpe, Clerk,	Imprisoned.
1413	{ Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham,	{ Hang'd and Burnt.
1535	Sir Thomas More,	Beheaded.
1554	Sir Nicholas Throckmorton	Acquitted.
1567	James, Earl of Bothwell	Acquitted.
1571	Thomas Duke of Norfolk,	Beheaded.
1584	{ Parry, Ballard, Babington, Savage, Barnwell, Titch- burne, Tilney, Abington, Salisbury, Donn, Jones, Charnock, Travers, Gage and Bellamy, Conspirators a- gainst Queen Elizabeth,	{ Drawn, Hang'd and Quarter'd as Traytors.
1586		
1586	Mary Queen of Scots,	Beheaded.
1589	Philip Earl of Arundel	{ Imprisonm. and Confis.
1600	Earl of Essex	Beheaded.
1600	Earl of Southampton	{ Imprisonm. and Confis.
	A 4	1603 Sir

A Chronological TABLE.

1603	{ Sir Walter Raleigh try'd; and in 1618 }	Beheaded.
1605	{ Robert Winter, John Grant, Tho. Bates, Tho. Winter, Ambrose Rookwood, Rob. Keys, Guy Fawkes, and Sir Everard Digby, Conspira- tors in the Gunpowder Plot, }	Executed as Traitors.
1606	{ Henry Garnet, Superior of the Jesuits, }	Executed as a Traitor
1615	{ Richard Weston, Anne Tur- ner, Sir Jervis Elvis and James Franklin, Murderers of Sir Thomas Overbury, }	Hang'd.
1616	{ Frances Countess of Somerset, and Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, Murderers of Sir Thomas Overbury, }	Imprisonm. and Confis.
1631	{ Lord Audley Fitz-Patrick and Broadway, } his Servants	Beheaded. Hang'd.
1633	William Prynne, Esq;	{ Pillory'd, Ears cut off Fin'd and Imprison'd. Pardon'd.
1634	Lord Balmerino	Beheaded.
1641	Earl of Strafford	Beheaded.
1643	{ John Hampden Esq; his Try- al in the Case of Ship-money, 1636. He was in an Engage- ment with the K.'s Forces 1643 }	Shot in the Field.
1644	Archbishop Laud	Beheaded.
1644	Connor Lord Macguire	{ Executed as a Traitor.
1648	King CHARLES the First	Beheaded.
1649	{ James Duke Hamilton and Lord Capel }	Beheaded.
1649	John Lilburne	Acquitted.
1651	Christo-	

A Chronological TABLE.

1651	Christopher Love, Clerk	Beheaded.
1651	John Gibbons	Executed as a Traitor.
1653	John Streater	Imprison'd.
1654	Dr. John Pordage, Rector of Bradfield	Ejected as a Scandalous Minist.
1655	Colonel John Penruddock	Beheaded, Pillory'd, Whipt, Bored thro' the Tongue, Stigmatiz'd &c.
1656	James Nayler	
1658	Sir Henry Slingsby	Beheaded.
	Dr. John Hewet	
	The Hon. John Mordant, Esq;	Acquitted.

REGICIDES.

	Thomas Harrison, John Carew, Thomas Scot, Gregory Clement, John Jones, Adrian Scroop, John Cook, Hugh Peters, Daniel Ax- tel, and Francis Hacker	Executed as Traitors.
1660	The rest of the Regicides who were try'd, suffer'd only in their Liberties and Estates.	Imprisonment and Confiscation
	But three of the Regicides, who fled and were out-lawed, viz. Miles Corbet, Colonel Okey and Colonel Barkstead, being taken in Holland, and brought over hither, were	Executed as Traitors.
1662	Sir Henry Vane	Beheaded.
1662	John James	Executed as a Traitor.
1662	Tho.	

A Chronological TABLE.

1662	{ Tho. Tonge, George Philips, Francis Stubbs and Nath. Gibbs }	{ Executed as Traytors. }
1663	John Twyn	{ Executed as a Traytor. }
1663	Brewster, Dover and Brooks	{ Pillory'd, Fin'd and Imprison'd. }
1663	{ Mary Moders, alias The German Princess }	{ Acquitted. }
	{ Colonel James Turner }	{ Hang'd. }
1663	{ John Turner, William Turner, Mary Turner, and Ely Turner }	{ Acquitted. }
1664	Benjamin Keach	{ Pillory'd, Fin'd and Imprison'd. }
1667	Edward Earl of Clarendon	Banished.
	{ Messenger, Basley, Cotton and Limmerick }	{ Executed as Traytors. }
1668	{ Earls, Wilks, Woodward, Farrel, Richardson and Ford }	{ Acquitted. }
	{ Appletree and Lattimer }	Pardoned.
	{ Green and Bedle }	{ Acquit. by a special Verd. }
1668	Robert Hawkins, Clerk	Acquitted.
1670	William Penn, and Will. Mead	Acquitted.
1677	Anthony Earl of Shaftsbury	Imprison'd.
1678	{ Robert Green, Henry Berry, and Lawrence Hill }	{ Hang'd. }
1678	{ Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery }	{ Discharg'd on demanding his Clergy. }
1678	{ Will. Stayley, Edw. Coleman, Will. Ireland, Tho. Pickering, and John Grove }	{ Executed as Traytors. }
1678	Thomas Earl of Danby	{ Pardon'd, but Imprison'd. }
1678	James Mitchel	Hang'd.
	1679 Charles	

A Chronological TABLE.

1679	Charles Lord Conwallis	Acquitted.
1679	David Lewis, Clerk	Executed as a Traytor.
1679	Nathaniel Reading	Pillory'd, Fin'd and Imprison'd.
1679	Thomas Whitebread, John Fenwick, Will. Harcourt, John Gavan, and Anthony Turner, Jesuits	Executed as Traytors.
1679	Richard Langhorne, Esq;	Executed as a Traytor.
1679	Sir George Wakeman, William Marshall, William Rumley, and James Corker, Benedictine Monks	Acquitted.
1679	Charles Kerne	Acquitted.
1679	Thomas Knox, and John Lane	Pillory'd, Fin'd and Imprison'd.
1679	Lionel Anderson, alias Munson, Will. Ruffel, alias Napper, Charles Parris, alias Parry, H. Starkey, Ja. Corker, Will. Marshall, and Alex. Lumsden, Clerks, Popish Priests	Repriev'd.
1679	John Tasborough and Anne Price	Pillory'd, Fin'd and Imprison'd.
1679	Ben. Harris, Bookseller,	Pillory'd, Fin'd and Imprison'd.
1679	Francis Smith, Bookseller	Pillory'd, Fin'd and Imprison'd.
1679	Jane Curtis	Pillory'd, Fin'd and Imprison'd.

1679 Sir

A Chronological T A B L E.

1679	Sir Thomas Gascoigne	Acquitted,
1680	{ Roger Palmer, Esq; Earl of Castlemain	{ Acquitted.
1680	John Giles	{ Pillory'd, Fin'd and Imprison'd.
1680	{ Elizabeth Cellier, on an In- dictment of High Treason	{ Acquitted.
1680	Henry Carr	{ Pillory'd, Fin'd and Imprison'd.
1680	Thomas Thwyng	{ Executed as a Traytor.
1680	Mary Prefficks	Acquitted.
1680	{ Eliz. Cellier, on an Indictment for a Misdemeanour	{ Pillory'd, Fin'd and Imprison'd.
1680	William Viscount Stafford	Beheaded.
1681	Edward Fitzharris, Esq;	{ Executed as a Traytor.
1681	{ Dr. Oliver Plunket, Clerk, Ti- tular Primate of Ireland	{ Executed as a Traytor.
1681	Sir Miles Stapleton, Bar.	Acquitted.
1681	Stephen Colledge	{ Executed as a Traytor.
1681	Archibald Earl of Argyle	Beheaded.
1681	Anthony Earl of Shaftsbury	{ The Indict- ment reject- ed.
1681	{ Charles George Boroski, Chri- stopher Urats, and John Stern	{ Hang'd.
	Char. John Count Coningsmark	Acquitted.
1682	{ Nathaniel Thomson, William Paine and John Farewell	{ Pillory'd, Fin'd, and Imprison'd.

1682 Ford

A Chronological TABLE.

1682	{ Ford Lord Grey, of Werk, Robert Charnock, Anne Charnock, David Jones, Frances Jones, and Rebecca Jones	{ No Judgment.
1683	{ Samuel Shute, and Thomas Pilkington, Esqrs. Sheriffs, Henry Cornish Alderman, Ford Lord Grey, of Werk, &c. Rioters	{ Fin'd.
1683	{ Capt. Thomas Walcot, William Hone, and John Rouse	{ Executed as Traytors.
1683	William Lord Russel	Beheaded.
1683	William Blague	Acquitted.
1683	Algernoon Sidney, Esq;	Beheaded.
1683	{ John Hampden, Esq; Convicted on an Indictment for a Misdemeanor	{ Fin'd, and Imprison'd.
1683	{ Laurence Braddon and Hugh Speke	{ Fin'd and Imprison'd.
1683	Sir Samuel Bernardiston Knt.	{ Fin'd, and Imprison'd.
1684	James Holloway	{ Executed as a Traytor.
1684	Titus Otes	{ Damages 100,000l.
1684	Sir Thomas Armstrong	{ Executed as a Traytor.
1684	Thomas Rosewel, Clerk	Pardon'd.
1684	Thomas Papillon	{ Damages 10000 l.
1684	Robert Baillie, of Jerviswood	{ Executed as a Traytor.
1684	Titus Otes	{ Pillory'd, Whipt, Fin'd and Imprison'd.
1685	Mrs. Alice Lisle	Beheaded.

A Chronological TABLE.

1685	{ John Fernley, and William Ring Elizabeth Gaunt	{ Hang'd, &c as Traytors. Burnt.
1685	Henry Cornish, Esq;	{ Executed as
1685	Charles Bateman, Surgeon	{ Traytors.
1685	{ John Hampden, Esq; Convicted of High Treason	{ Repriev'd.
1685	Henry Lord Delamere	Acquitted.
1686	Henry Lord Bishop of London	Suspended.
1686	{ Dr. John Peachell, Vice-Chan- cellor of Cambridge	{ Depriv'd.
1687	{ President and Fellows of Mag- dalen College in Oxon	{ Expell'd, &c.
1687	Philip Standsfield	{ Executed as a Traytor.
1688	Seven Bishops	Acquitted.
1689	Earl of Castlemain	Imprison'd.
1689	{ John Price, &c. Indicted of High Treason	{ Never bro. to Tryal.
	{ Sir Richard Grahme Bar. Vis- count Preston	{ Pardon'd.
1690	{ John Ashton	{ Executed as a Traytor.
	{ Edmund Elliot	{ Discharg'd without Try- al.
1692	Henry Harrison	Hang'd.
1692	John Cole	Acquitted.
1692	Charles Lord Mohun	Acquitted.
1695	{ Robert Charnock, Edw. King, and Thomas Keys	{ Executed as Traytors.
1696	{ Sir John Friend, Sir William Perkins, Ambrose Rookwood, Charles Cranburn, Rob. Lo- wick, and Alexander Knightly	{ Executed as Traytors.
1696	Peter Cook, Esq;	Pardon'd.
1696	Jos. Dawson, and five other Pirates	Hang'd.
1696	Sir John Fenwick	Beheaded.
		1696 Capt.

A Chronological TABLE.

1696	Capt. Thomas Vaughan	Executed as a Traytor.
1699	Edward Earl of Warwick	Discharg'd on his Demand of Clergy.
1699	Charles Lord Mohun	Acquitted.
1699	Spencer Cowper, Esq; John Marson, Ellis Stevens, and William Rogers	Acquitted.
1699	Mary Butler	Fin'd and Imprison'd.
1701	William Kidd, and three other Pirates	Hang'd.
1701	William Earl of Portland, John Lord Somers, Edward Earl of Orford, and Charles Lord Hallifax	Impeachment dismiss'd.
1701	John Lord Haverham	Charge dismiss'd.
1701	Thomas Duke of Leeds	Impeachment dismiss'd.
1701	Nicholas Bayard	Repriev'd.
1702	William Fuller	Pillory'd, Fin'd and Imprison'd.
	Colonel Richard Kirby and Captain Cooper Wade.	Shot to Death.
1702	Captain John Constable	Cashir'd and Imprison'd.
	Captain Samuel Vincent and Capt. Christopher Fog	Suspended.
1702	Haagen Swendsen	Hang'd.
	Sarah Baynton	Repriev'd.
	John Hartwell and John Spurr	Acquitted.
		1702 Ri-

A Chronological TABLE.

1702	Richard Hathaway	{ Pillory'd, Fin'd and Imprison'd.
1703	James Bouchier	Repriev'd.
1704	David Lindsay	Repriev'd.
1704	John Tutchin	{ No Judg- ment.
1705	{ Capt. Thomas Green and se- veral of his Crew	{ Hang'd.
1706	Robert Fielding, Esq;	Pardon'd.
1708	{ James Stirling, Archibald Seaton, Archibald Stirling, Charles Stirling, and Pa- trick Edmonston	{ Acquitted.
1709	Dr. Henry Sacheverel	{ Silenc'd for three Years, and his Ser- mons burnt.
1716	Francis Francia	Acquitted



AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE

OF THE
NAMES of the PERSONS, whose
SPEECHES, or CHARACTERS,
are contain'd in this Book.

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CHARACTERS

AND

DYING SPEECHES.

TH E two first Prosecutions we meet with in the *State Tryals* being for *Heresy* (a Crime on which such Punishments were heretofore inflicted, that we still retain the Dread of them) I shall briefly shew how the Law formerly stood in relation to this Crime, and give a Precedent or two of the Process which issued against such Offenders after they were delivered over to the Secular Arm, in order to their Execution.

By the ancient Common Law Burning was the Punishment for Heresy, but the Party accused was first to be try'd and convicted thereof by the Archbishop and the rest of the Clergy of his Province assembled in Convocation. After Conviction the Offender was delivered over into Lay-Hands, and the Sheriff of the County, by Virtue of the Writ *de Hæretico comburendo*, was to cause him to be burnt. *Brit. lib. 1. c. 17. Bro. Abr. tit. Heresy. Fitz. Na. br. p. 667.*

The first Statute I find, in relation to Heresy, is the 5th of *Ri. II. cap. 5.* whereby it is enacted, That the Sheriffs, and other Civil Officers should apprehend and imprison Persons suspected of Heresy, in order to their being try'd by the Laws of Holy Church : And it being found inconvenient to summon the Convocation for the Tryal of every Offender, a Statute was made the 2d of *Hen. IV. cap. 15.* empowering every Diocesan to imprison Persons suspected of Heresy in their respective Dioceses, and try them (so that such Diocesan proceeded judicially and openly against such Persons.) And where any Person was convicted, he might be imprison'd at the Discretion of the Ordinary : Or, if the Party refus'd to abjure his Errors, or having abjured them, relaps'd, he was to be left to the Secular Arm ; and the Sheriff (whom the Ordinary might call to be present at the Tryal) was to cause the Party to be burnt in some high (or open) Place.

The Lord Chief-Justice *Brook* (*tit. Heresy*) says, That, upon this Statute, it was resolv'd, That if a Person was convicted of Heresy in the Presence of the Sheriff, the Ordinary might commit him to the same Sheriff, and he was to cause him to be burnt without the Writ *de Hæretico comburendo* ; but if the Sheriff was absent, or if the Heretick was to be burnt in another County, in either of these Cases the Writ *de Hæretico comburendo* must be first obtained, before the Sheriff could burn him.

I find *Dr. Burnet*, in his *History of the Reformation*, and after him *Mr. Collier*, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, wondring why the Writ *de Hæretico comburendo* was issued for the burning of *Sawtre*, when by the last mention'd Act the Sheriff was empower'd to execute Persons convicted of Heresy without that Writ : But the Won-

der ceases, if we consider that the Sheriff could not proceed to execute the Offender by his own Authority, unless he was present at the Conviction; and tho' the Dioceſan might call the Sheriff to attend the Tryal, yet he might too convict the Offender in his Abſence. And further, *Sawtre* was convicted by the Convocation; and it may be difficult to give one Inſtance where the Convocation call'd the Sheriff to aſſiſt at the Tryal of an Heretick; and if they had, ſuch a Conviction was not within the Letter of the Act: Therefore, upon this Conviction, the Sheriff was under a Neceſſity of waiting for the Writ *de Hæretico comburendo*, before he could execute him.

By the 2d of *Hen. V. c. 7.* all Civil Officers were to be ſworn to aſſiſt the Ordinaries in extirpating Heresies; and one convict of Hereſy was to forfeit his Goods, and Chattels, and Feeſimple Lands.

By the 25th of *Hen. VIII. cap. 14.* the Act of the 2d of *Hen. IV.* is in part repeal'd; and it is thereby provided, That no Perſon ſhall be executed as an Heretick, without the Writ *de Hæretico comburendo* firſt obtain'd.

By the 1ſt of *Eliz. cap. 1.* the aboveſaid Statutes, as well as that other Statute of the 1ſt and 2d of *Phil. and Mar. cap. 6.* againſt Hereticks, are repealed.

And by the 29th of *Car. II. cap. 9.* the Writ *de Hæretico comburendo*, with all Proceedings thereon, and all capital Punishments in Purſuance of any Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, are from thenceforth utterly aboliſhed.

So that at this Day a Perſon convicted of Hereſy can only be excommunicated by the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, and come under ſuch Pains and Diſabilities as Perſons ſtanding excommunicated for any other Offence are liable to.

Indeed a Man may be indicted for a Misdemeanour in uttering Blasphemy, or Heresy, at Common Law ; and it is in the Discretion of those Courts to inflict suitable Punishments for the Offence (saving Life and Limb) as appears by the Tryal of *Keach* at the Assizes for the County of *Bucks*, who was indicted for making an Heretical Primmer. I shall now proceed to give an Instance or two of the Proceſs iſſued after a Conviction of Heresy.

The FORM of the WRIT *de Hæretico comburendo* for executing a Person convicted of Heresy in Convocation.

REX, &c. Majori & Vic' London salutem.
 Cum venerabilis Pater Thomas Archiepiscopus Cantuar' totius Angliæ Primas, & Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus, de Consensu & Assensu, ac Consilio Episcoporum & Confratrum Suffragan' suorum, necnon totius Cleri Provinciæ suæ in Consilio suo provinciali congregat', juris Ordinibus in hac parte requisit' in omnibus observat' W. Sawtre aliquando Capellanum in Hæres' damnat', & per ipsum Willielmum præantea in forma Juris abjurat', & ipsum Willielmum in Hæresin prædict' relaps' per suam sententiam definitivam Hæreticum manifestum pronunciat' & declarat', ac degradandum fore decreverit, & ab omni prærogativa & privilegio clericali ea de causa realit' degradaverit, ipsumq; Will' Foro seculari relinquendum esse decreverit, & realiter reliquit, juxta Leges & canonicas Sanctiones editas in hac parte, & sancta Mater Ecclesia non habet ulterius quod fac' in præmiss'. Nos igitur zelator Justitiæ & Fidei Catholicæ cultor, volentes Ecclesiam sanctam ac Jura & Libertates ejusdem manutenere & defendere, & hujusmodi Hæreses & Errores de Regno nostro Angliæ (quant' in nobis est) radicitus extirpar', ac Hæreticos sic convictos animadversione condigna

condigna puniri, attendentesq; hujusmodi Hæreticos in forma prædictæ convictos & damnatos juxta Legem divinam & humanam canonica Institutione, & in hac parte consuetudinar' ignis incendio comburi debere; Vobis distinctius quo possimus præcipimus, firmiter injungentes, quod præfat' Will' in Custodia vestra existens in aliquo loco publico & aperto infra libertat' Civitatis prædictæ causa præmissa coram populo publice Igni committ', ac ipsum in eodem Igne realiter comburi fac' in hujus Criminis detestationem, aliorumq; Christianorum exemplum manifestum; & hoc sub periculo incumbente nulloatenus omittatis. Teste, &c.

The FORM of the WARRANT to the Lord Chancellor for issuing the WRIT de Hæretico comburendo, on a Conviction for Heresy before the Ordinary.

JAMES Rex.

JAMES, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To our right Trusty, and right well-beloved Counsellor, Thomas Lord Ellesmere, our Chancellor of England, greeting. Whereas the Reverend Father in God, John Bishop of London, having judicially proceeded in a Cause of Heresy against Bartholomew Legatt of the City of London, in the Diocess of the said Bishop of London, concerning divers wicked Errors, Heresies, and blasphemous Opinions, holden, affirmed and published by the said Bartholomew Legatt, and chiefly in these thirteen blasphemous Positions following, viz. That the Creed called the Nicene Creed, and Athanasius's Creed, contain not a Profession of the true Christian Faith; or that he will not profess his Faith according to the same Creeds: That Christ is not God of God begotten, not made, but begotten and made: That there

there are no Persons in the Godhead: That Christ was not God from everlasting, but began to be God when he took Flesh of the Virgin *Mary*: That the World was not made by Christ: That the Apostles teach Christ to be Man only: That there is no Generation in God, but of Creatures: That this Assertion, God to be made Man, is contrary to the Rule of Faith, and monstrous Blasphemy: That Christ was not before the Fulness of Time, except by Promise: That Christ was not God otherwise than anointed God: That Christ was not in the Form of God equal with God, that is, in Substance of God, but in Righteousness and giving Salvation: That Christ by his Godhead wrought no Miracle: That Christ is not to be pray'd unto. Wherein he the said *Bartholomew Legatt* hath, before the said Reverend Father, maintain'd his said most dangerous and blasphemous Opinions, as appeareth by many of his Confessions publickly made and acknowledged. For which his damnable and heretical Opinions, he is by definitive Sentence by the said Reverend Father *John Bishop of London*, with the Advice and Consent of other Reverend Bishops, Learned Divines, and others Learned in the Laws, assisting him in Judgment, justly adjudged, pronounced and declared to be an obstinate and incorrigible Heretick, and is left by them under the Sentence of the great Excommunication, and therefore as a corrupt Member to be cut off from the Church of Christ, and Society of the Faithful, and is to be by our secular Power and Authority, as an Heretick, punished, as by the *Significavit* of the said Reverend Father in God the said Bishop of *London*, bearing Date at *London* the third Day of *March*, in the Year of our Lord 1611. in the ninth Year of Our Reign, and remaining in our Court of *Chancery*, more at large appeareth. And although

though the said *Bartholomew Legatt* hath, since the said Sentence pronounced against him, been often very charitably moved and exhorted, as well by the said Bishop, as by many grave and learned Divines, to dissuade, revoke and remove him from the said blasphemous and heretical Opinions, yet he arrogantly and wilfully persisteth and continueth in the same. We therefore, according to our Regal Function and Office, minding the Execution of Justice in this behalf, and to give Example to others, lest they should attempt the like hereafter, have determined, by the Assent of our Council, to will and require, and do hereby authorize and require You our said Chancellor, immediately upon the Receipt hereof, to award and make out, under our Great Seal of *England*, our Writ of Execution, according to the Tenor in these Presents ensuing. And these Presents shall be your sufficient Warrant and Discharge for the same.

The WRIT *de Hæretico comburendo*.

REX *Vicecomitibus* London, *Salutem*. Cum Reverendus in Christo Pater Johannes, London Episcopus, nobis significavit, quod cum ipse in quodam hæreticæ Pravitatis negotio contra quendam Bartholomeum Legatt, subditum nostrum Civitatis London dicti London Episcopi Dioces' & jurisdict' rite & legitime procedens, per Acta inactitata, deducta, proposita, & per Confessiones ipsius Bartholomei Legatt coram præfato Episcopo judicialiter factas & recognitas, comperit & invenit præfatum Bartholomeum Legatt quamplurimos nefandos Errores, falsas Opiniones, Hæreses & Blasphemias execrandas, & scelerata Dogmata Catholicæ & Orthodoxæ Fidei & Religioni, & sacrosancto Dei Verbo expresse contraria & repugnantia, scienter, maliciose, animoq; pertinaci obdurato planeque incorri-

gibili credere, tenere, affirmare & publicare, idem Reverendus Pater London Episcopus cum Consilio & Consensu tam Reverendorum Episcoporum & aliorum Theologorum quam Juris etiam peritorum in Judicio assiden' & assisten' eundem Bartholomeum Legatt per sententiam suam definitivam, obduratum, contumacem & incorrigibilem Hæreticum pronunciavit, decrevit & declaravit, eaque occasione tanquam protervum Hæreticum & Membrum putridum & contagiosum ab Ecclesia Christi & Fidelium Communione recisum & amputatum fore. Cum igitur sancta Mater Ecclesia non habeat quod ulterius facere & exequi valeat in hac parte, idem Reverendus Pater præfatum Bartholomeum Legatt, ut Blasphemum Hæreticum, brachio nostro seculari reliquit condigna animadversione plectend', prout per Literas Patentes præfati Reverendi in Christo Patris London Episcopi in hac parte superinde confect' Nobis in Chancellar' nostram certificat' est. Nos igitur ut Zelator Justitiæ, & Fidei Catholicæ Defensor, volentesq; Ecclesiam sanctam ac Jura & Libertates ejusdem, & Fidem Catholicam manutenere & defendere, ac hujusmodi Hæreses & Errores ubiq; (quantum in Nobis est) eradicare & extirpare, ac Hæreticos sic convictos animadversione condigna puniri, attendentesq; hujusmodi Hæreticum in forma prædict' convictum & damnatum juxta Leges & Consuetudines Regni nostri Angliæ in hac parte consuet' Ignis incendio comburi debere. Vobis præcipimus quod dictum Bartholomeum Legatt in Custod' vestra existen' apud West-Smithfield in loco publico & aperto ex causa præmissa coram populo publice Igni committi, ac ipsum Bartholomeum Legatt in eodem Igne realiter comburi fac' in hujusmodi Criminis detestationem, aliorumq; Christianorum exemplum manifestum, ne in simile Crimen labantur. Et hoc sub periculo incumbente nullatenus omittatis. Teste, &c.

Henry Hibirte.

This

This containeth a Warrant to be granted by your Majesty unto the Lord Chancellor of *England*, for the awarding of a Writ under the Great Seal of *England* to the Sheriff of the City of *London*, for the burning of *Bartholomew Legatt*, who is convicted of divers horrible Heresies before the Bishop of *London*, and by his Sentence left to the secular Power, as is by the said Bishop certified to your Majesty into your Highness's Court of *Chancery*: And is done by Force of your Majesty's Commandment to me given under your Highness's Sign-manual.

Henry Hibirte.

The WRIT for burning an Heretick in English.

THE King to the Sheriffs of *London*, greeting. Whereas the Reverend Father in Christ, *John* Bishop of *London*, hath signified unto us, That when he in a certain Business of heretical Pravity against one *Bartholomew Legatt*, our Subject of the City of *London*, of the said Bishop of *London*'s Diocess and Jurisdiction, rightly and lawfully proceeding by Acts enacted, drawn, proposed, and by the Confessions of the said *Bartholomew Legatt*, before the said Bishop judicially made and acknowledged, hath found in the said *Bartholomew Legatt* very many wicked Errors, false Opinions, Heresies and cursed Blasphemies, and impious Doctrines, expressly contrary and repugnant to the Catholick Faith and Religion, and the holy Word of God, knowingly and maliciously, and with a pertinacious, obdurate, and plainly incorrigible Mind, to believe, hold, affirm and publish, the same Reverend Father the Bishop of *London*, with the Advice and Consent, as well of the Reverend Bishops and other Divines, as also of Men Learned in the Law, in
Judgment

Judgment sitting and assisting, the same *Bartholomew Legatt* by his definitive Sentence hath pronounced, decreed and declared to be an obdurate, contumacious and incorrigible Heretick, and upon that Occasion, as a stubborn Heretick, and rotten contagious Member, to be cut off from the Church of Christ, and the Communion of the Faithful : Whereas the holy Mother Church hath not further to do and prosecute in this part, the same Reverend Father hath left the aforesaid *Bartholomew Legatt*, as a blasphemous Heretick, to our secular Power, to be punished with condign Punishment, as by the Letters Patents of the said Reverend Father in Christ, the Bishop of *London*, in this behalf above made, hath been certified unto us in our *Chancery*. We therefore as a Zealot of Justice, and a Defender of the Catholick Faith, and willing to maintain and defend the holy Church, and Rights and Liberties of the same, and the Catholick Faith ; and such Heresies and Errors every where, what in us lieth, to root out and extirpate, and to punish with condign Punishment such Hereticks so convicted, and deeming that such an Heretick in Form aforesaid, convicted and condemned according to the Laws and Customs of this our Kingdom of *England* in this part accustomed, ought to be burned with Fire. We do command you, that the said *Bartholomew Legatt*, being in your Custody, you do commit publickly to the Fire, before the People, in a publick and open Place in *West-Smithfield*, for the Cause aforesaid ; and that you cause the said *Bartholomew Legatt* to be really burned in the same Fire, in Detestation of the said Crime, for the manifest Example of other Christians, lest they slide into the same Fault : And this that you in no wise omit, under the Peril that shall follow thereon. Witness, &c.

Another

Another Warrant to the Lord Chancellor, for issuing the
 WRIT de Hæretico comburendo.

James Rex,

JAMES, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To our right Trusty and right Well-beloved Counsellor, *Thomas Lord Ellesmere*, our Chancellor of England, greeting. Whereas the Reverend Father in God, *Richard Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield*, having judicially proceeded in the Examination, hearing and determining of a Cause of Heresy against *Edward Wightman* of the Parish of *Burton upon Trent*, in the Diocess of *Coventry and Lichfield*, concerning the wicked Heresies of the *Ebionites, Cerinthians, Valentinians, Arrians, Macedonians, of Simon Magnus, of Manes, Manichees, of Photinus, and Anabaptists*, and of other heretical, execrable and unheard of Opinions, by the instinct of Satan, by him excogitated and holden, *viz.*

That there is not the Trinity of Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in the Unity of the Deity. 2. That Jesus Christ is not the true natural Son of God, perfect God, and of the same Substance, Eternity and Majesty with the Father in respect of his Godhead. 3. That Jesus Christ is only Man and a meer Creature, and not both God and Man in one Person. 4. That Christ our Saviour took not humane Flesh of the Substance of the Virgin *Mary* his Mother; and that that Promise, *The Seed of the Woman shall break the Serpent's Head*, was not fulfill'd in Christ. 5. That the Person of the Holy Ghost is not God coequal, coeternal, and co-essential with the Father and the Son. 6. That
 the

the three Creeds, viz. The Apostles Creed, the *Nicene* Creed, and *Athanasius's* Creed are the Heresies of the *Nicolaitanes*. 7. That he the said *Edward Wightman* is that Prophet spoken of in the eighteenth of *Deuteronomy*, in these Words, *I will raise them up a Prophet, &c.* And that that Place of *Isaiah*, *I alone have trodden the Wine-press* : and that that Place, *Whose Fan is in his Hand*, are proper and personal to him the said *Edward Wightman*. 8. And that he the said *Wightman* is that Person of the Holy Ghost spoken of in the Scriptures ; and the Comforter spoken of in the sixteenth of *St. John's Gospel*. 9. And that those Words of our Saviour Christ of the Sin of Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, are meant of his Person. 10. And that that Place, the fourth of *Malachi*, of *Elias* to come, is likewise meant of his Person. 11. That the Soul doth sleep in the sleep of the first Death, as well as the Body, and is mortal, as touching the Sleep of the first Death, as the Body is : And that the Soul of our Saviour Jesus Christ did sleep in that sleep of Death as well as his Body. 12. That the Souls of the elect Saints departed, are not Members possess'd of the triumphant Church in Heaven. 13. That the baptizing of Infants is an abominable Custom. 14. That there ought not to be in the Church the Use of the Lord's Supper to be celebrated in the Elements of Bread and Wine ; and the Use of Baptism to be celebrated in the Element of Water, as they are now practis'd in the Church of *England*. But that the Use of Baptism is to be administer'd in Water only to Converts of sufficient Age of Understanding, converted from Infidelity to the Faith. 15. That God hath ordained and sent him, the said *Edward Wightman*, to perform his Part in the Work of the Salvation of the World, to deliver it by his Teaching, or Admonition,

nition, from the Heresy of the *Nicolaitanes*, as
 Christ was ordained and sent to save the World,
 and by his Death to deliver it from Sin, and to
 reconcile it to God. 16. And that Christianity is
 not wholly profess'd and preach'd in the Church
 of *England*, but only in part. Wherein he, the
 said *Edward Wightman*, hath before the said Re-
 verend Father, as also before our Commissioners
 for Causes Ecclesiastical, within our Realm of
England, maintain'd his said most perilous and
 dangerous Opinions, as appeareth by many of
 his Confessions, as also by a Book written and
 subscrib'd by him, and given to us. For the
 which his damnable and heretical Opinions, he is
 by divine Sentence declar'd, by the said Reverend
 Father the Bishop of *Coventry and Lichfield*, with
 the Advice and Consent of learned Divines, and
 others learned in the Laws assisting him in Judg-
 ment, justly adjudged, pronounced and declared
 to be an obstinate and incorrigible Heretick, and
 is left by them under the Sentence of the great
 Excommunication, and therefore, as a corrupt
 Member, to be cut off from the rest of the Flock
 of Christ, lest he should infect others professing
 the true Christian Faith; and is to be, by our se-
 cular Power and Authority, as an Heretick
 punished; as by the *Significavit* of the said Re-
 verend Father in God, the Bishop of *Coventry and*
Lichfield, bearing Date at *Lichfield* the fourteenth
 Day of *December*, in the ninth Year of our Reign,
 and remaining in our Court of Chancery, more at
 large appeareth. And altho' the said *Edward*
Wightman hath, since the said Sentence pro-
 nounc'd against him, been often very charitably
 mov'd and exhorted, as well by the said Bishop,
 as by many other godly, grave, and learned Di-
 vines, to dissuade, revoke, and remove him from
 the said blasphemous, heretical, and anabaptis-
 tical

tical Opinions; yet he arrogantly and wilfully persisteth and continueth in the same. We therefore, according to our regal Function and Office, minding the Execution of Justice in this Behalf, and to give Example to others, lest they should attempt the like hereafter, have determin'd, by the Assent of our Council, to will and require, and do hereby authorize and require you, our said Chancellor, immediately upon the receipt hereof, to award and make out, under our great Seal of *England*, our Writ of Execution, according to the Tenor in these Presents ensuing. And these Presents shall be your sufficient Warrant and Discharge for the same.

The W R I T *de Hæretico comburendo.*

REX Vic' Civitatis nostræ Lich' salutem. Cum Reverendus in Christo Pater Richardus providentia Divina Coventr' & Lich' Episcopus nobis significaverit, quod ipse contra & adversus quendam Edwardum Wightman Parochiæ de Burton super Trent Coventr' & Lich' Dioces. de & super nephandis Hæresibus Ebionis, Cerinthi, Valentiniani, Arri, Macedonii, Simonis Magi, Manetis, Manechiorum, Photini & Anabaptistarum aliorumq; Hæresiarcharum, & insuper de aliis execrandis opinionibus instinctu Satanae excogitatis & antehac inauditis, juxta Canonum Ecclesiasticorum legumque & consuetudinum hujus Regni nostri Angl' exigentiam judicialit' procedens, prædictus Edwardus Wightman coram præfato Reverendo Patre ac aliis Theologis & Jurisperitis sibi in judicio assistantibus comparens, prædicta nephanda crimina Hæreses ac alias detestandas blasphemias & Errores contumaciter & ex quadam pertinacia scienter, maliciose, animoq; obdurato publicavit, defendebat, & disseminabat, per sententiam definitivam ejusdem Reverendi Patris cum consensu Theologorum & Jurisperitorum prædictorum juste Legitime & Canonice

Canonice contra eundem Edwardum Wightman in ea parte latam Hæretic' adjudicat' & pronunciat' existit; & ideo tanquam ovem morbidam e grege Domini, ne subditos nostros sua contagione inficiet, ejiciendum & eliminandum fore decreverit: Cum igitur Sancta Mater Ecclesia non habeat quod ulterius in hac parte facere & exequi debeat, idem Reverendus Pater eundem Edwardum Wightman, ut Blasphemum & damnatum Hæreticum, brachio nostro seculari reliquit, condigna animadversione plectend', prout per Literas Patentes præfati Reverendi Patris Episcopi Coventr' & Lich' in hac parte superinde confect' Nobis in Cancellar' nostram certificat' est. Nos igitur ut Zelator justitiæ & fidei Catholicæ defensor, volentesque Ecclesiam Sanctam ac jura & libertates ejusdem & fidem Catholicam manutenere & defendere, ac hujusmodi Hæreses & Errores ubique (quantum in nobis est) eradicare & extirpare, ac Hæreticos sic convictos animadversione condigna puniri, attendentesq; hujusmodi Hæreticum in forma prædicta convictum & damnatum juxta leges & consuetudinem Regni nostri Angliæ in hac parte consuet' ignis incendio comburi debere; Tibi præcepimus quod dict' Edwardum Wightman in custodia tua existent' in aliquo loco publico & aperto infra Civitatem prædict' ex causa præmissa coram populo publice igni committi, & ipsum Edwardum Wightman in eodem igne realiter comburi fac' in hujusmodi criminis detestationem aliorumque Christianorum exemplum manifestum, ne in simile crimen labantur. Et hoc sub periculo incumbente nullatenus omittas. Teste, &c.

Henry Hibirte.

This containeth a Warrant to be granted by your Majesty unto the Lord Chancellor of England, for the awarding of a Writ, under the Great Seal of England, to the Sheriff of the City of Lichfield, for the burning of Edward Wightman, who is convicted of divers horrible Heresies, before

fore the Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, and by his Sentence left to the secular Power, as is by the said Bishop certified to your Majesty into your Highness's Court of Chancery.

And is done by Force of your Majesty's Commandment to me given under your Highness's Sign Manual.

Henry Hibirte.

The WRIT for burning an Heretick in English.

THE King to the Sheriff of our City of *Lichfield*, greeting. Whereas the Reverend Father in Christ, *Richard*, by divine Providence, of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, Bishop, hath signified unto us, that he, judicially proceeding, according to the Exigence of the Ecclesiastical Canons, and of the Laws and Customs of this our Kingdom of *England*, against one *Edward Wightman* of the Parish of *Burton upon Trent*, in the Diocess of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, of and upon the wicked Heresies of *Ebion*, *Cerinthus*, *Valentinian*, *Arrius*, *Macedonius*, *Simon Magus*, of *Manes*, *Manichees*, *Photinus*, and of the *Anabaptists*, and other Arch-Hereticks; and moreover of other cursed Opinions belched by the Instinct of Satan exco-
gitated and heretofore unheard of, the aforesaid *Edward Wightman* appearing before the aforesaid Reverend Father, and other Divines, and learned in the Law, assisting him in Judgment, the aforesaid wicked Crimes, Heresies, and other detestable Blasphemies and Errors, stubbornly and pertinaciously, knowingly, maliciously, and with a harden'd Heart, publish'd, defended, and dispers'd, by definitive Sentence of the said Reverend Father, with the Consent of Divines, learn-

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ed in the Law aforesaid, justly, lawfully and canonically against the said *Edward Wightman* in that part brought, stands adjudged and pronounced an Heretick, and therefore, as a diseased Sheep out of the Flock of the Lord, lest our Subjects he do infect by his Contagion, he hath decreed to be cast out and cut off. Whereas therefore the holy Mother Church hath not further in this Part what it ought more to do and prosecute, the same Reverend Father, the same *Edward Wightman*, as a blasphemous and condemn'd Heretick, hath left to our secular Power to be punish'd with condign Punishment, as by the Letters Patents of the aforesaid Reverend Father the Bishop of *Coventry and Lichfield*, in this Behalf thereupon made, is certified unto us in our Chancery. We therefore, as a Zealot of Justice, and a Defender of the Catholick Faith; and willing that the Holy Church, and the Rights and Liberties of the same, and the Catholick Faith to maintain and defend, and such like Heresies and Errors every where, so much as in us lies, to root out and extirpate, and Hereticks so convict to punish with condign Punishment, holding that such an Heretick, in the aforesaid Form, convict and condemn'd according to the Laws and Customs of this our Kingdom of *England*, in this part accustomed, ought to be burnt with Fire; We command thee that thou cause the said *Edward Wightman*, being in thy Custody, to be committed to the Fire, in some publick and open Place, below the City aforesaid, for the Cause aforesaid, before the People; and the same *Edward Wightman*, in the same Fire, cause really to be burnt, in the Detestation of the said Crime, and for manifest Example of other Christians, that they may not fall into the same Crime; and this no ways omit,

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under the Peril that shall follow thereon. Witness, &c.

*Expedi't apud Westm' Nono die Martii Anno Regis
Jacobi Angl' &c. Nono. 1611.*

per Windebank.

Mr. Collier, in his Ecclesiastical History, rightly observes, that the primitive Fathers did not think these severe Proceedings against erroneous Opinions agreeable to the Christian Institution, *Non est Religionis Religionem cogere*: That Mis-belief of Opinion was no Forfeiture of Life: And that St. Martin and St. Ambrose refused to communicate with those who mov'd for the Execution of the Heretick Priscillian: *This roasting Men to Orthodoxy, and enlightning them with Fire and Faggot, was not a Discipline understood in those early Ages.*

THE first who was burnt for Heresy in England was Sir William Sawtre (or Soutre) Anno 1401, if we may credit Fox, who says, *That King Henry IV, who deposed King Richard II, was the first of all English Kings that began the unmerciful burning of Christ's Saints.*

HIS CHARACTER.

Mr. Collier observes of Soutre, that notwithstanding the Mistakes in some of his Conclusions, he was certainly a Man of Principles, and had great Strength of Mind to act up to them; for (says he) He that voluntarily encounters the King of Terrors, must be strongly penetrated with the Belief of another World. No Body will part with an Interest in hand, and throw up his present Being without the Prospect of a Consideration. To submit to Extremity of Torture, is a fair Proof

Proof of Sincerity and good Earnest, Hypocrisy and Pretence will seldom stand the fiery Tryal. These Qualities may shine till they are examin'd, but bring them to the Touchstone and they are easily discover'd. See the Principles of those who were deem'd Hereticks in the Reign of Henry IV. Col. Eccl. Hist. Vol. I. Page 619.

WILLIAM THORPE'S CHARACTER.

THE next Person we find prosecuted for Heresy (and the first we meet with in the *State Tryals*) was *William Thorpe* Priest, 8 Henry IV. 1407. As to this Gentleman's Character, Mr. *Collier* observes that his Treatise, call'd *Thorpe's Testament*, is a violent Invective against the Hierarchy, and discovers a great deal of Heat, Ignorance, and Enthusiasm. He falls blindly upon the whole Order, without Reserve or Exception; he insists mainly upon reforming the Church to Apostolical Poverty, would have the Bishops and Priests work for their Livings, and when they were past their Labour, to subsist upon the Charity of the People. He addresses all Kings and Emperors, Lords and Ladies, to reduce the Clergy to a State of Beggary and Dependence. In short, he endeavours to raise the Government upon the Church, presses destructive Expedients, charges the People to forsake the publick Communion; and pretends to foretel, that unless the Clergy are thus harraiss'd and renounc'd, they'll draw down the Judgments of Heaven upon the Kingdom, and the Nation will be destroy'd with Pestilence and Famine. His Reason for exhorting the People to desert the Communion of the then Church, is founded upon the Misbehaviour of the Clergy; but this Ground is clearly indefensible. To argue in this manner, is to make the Validity of the Sacra-

ments depend upon the Qualifications of the Priest, and not upon the Institution of our Saviour, which Doctrine is a Contradiction to Catholick Belief, and expressly condemn'd in the 26th Article of the Church of *England*.

Notwithstanding he was convicted even by his own Confession, and had been an active Lollard for twenty Years, he suffer'd no other Punishment than Imprisonment. *Col. 625.*

THE next Person prosecuted *capitally* for Heresy was Sir *John Oldcastle* (call'd by Courtesy, Lord *Cobham*, in his Wife's Right.) This Gentleman being convicted of Heresy, as it was call'd in those Days, the Archbishop waited upon the King, and gave him an Account of the Proceedings against him, and mov'd his Majesty that the Execution might be respited for 50 Days, which was readily granted, the King, as well as the Archbishop, being extreamly desirous to preserve Sir *John Oldcastle*. *Col. 634.*

Sir *John*, before the 50 Days expir'd, made his Escape out of the *Tower*, and endeavour'd to secure himself by making an Insurrection. To this purpose he wrote Letters to his Friends, to engage their Party, and make them ready for the Field; and he had, in all likelihood, surpriz'd the King, and overturn'd the Government, if the Conspiracy had not been discover'd.

The King being appriz'd of the Danger, on the sixth of *January* 1414, remov'd from *Eltham* to his Palace at *Westminster*; but without any Appearance of an Alarm, the Rebels were just upon the Execution of their Design, being drawn together by Sir *John Acton* Kt. *John Brown* Esq; and *John Beverly* a Priest, in *Ficket-field*, on the backside of *St. Giles's*; hither they came in the dead

dead of Night, expecting to join their General Sir *John Oldcastle*.

The King came into the Field before Day, where several of the Rebels, mistaking their Party, fell in with the King's Forces; and it being demanded whither they were going, they answer'd, to my Lord *Cobham*. The King, to prevent their getting together, had order'd the City Gates to be shut and guarded, without which Precaution 'tis thought the *Londoners* would have reforc'd their Party to a very formidable Body; but being disappointed of this Succour they soon dispers'd, and several of them were kill'd or taken Prisoners. And the King set a thousand Marks upon Sir *John Oldcastle's* Head, with a Promise of great Privileges to any Town that should deliver him up. (Also an Indictment of High Treason was found against Sir *John* in the *King's-Bench*, for conspiring the Death of the King, the Subversion of the establish'd Religion and Government, and levying War, whereupon he was outlaw'd.)

Anno 1414, the Statute was made against the *Lollards*, the Preamble whereof recites, That whereas they had caused great Insurrections, and attempted to destroy the Religion and Government establish'd, all Officers and Magistrates should take an Oath to suppress all Heresies and Errors, commonly call'd *Lollardies*: And that all Persons convict of Heresies should forfeit their Goods and Chattels, and Fee-simple Lands. And that Justices of Assize, and Justices of Peace, should have Power to enquire of such Heresies, and award a *Capias* to the Sheriff for apprehending them; provided that Persons indicted of Heresy should be deliver'd to their respective Ordinaries within ten Days after they should be

arrested, to be acquit or convict by the Laws of holy Church. *Col. 639.*

Anno 1415, The *Lollards* began to stir again, and were so hardy as to menace the King, the Church and the Government; and Sir *John Oldcastle* having receiv'd Advice that the King was embark'd for *France*, sent a threatening Message to the Lord *Abergavenny*; who thereupon order'd 5000 Archers and Men at Arms to rendezvous at his Castle of *Hanley* in *Worcestershire*. Sir *John Oldcastle*, finding that the Lord *Abergavenny* was so well provided, and understanding that the King was not yet gone, and that the Earl of *Cambridge*, the Lords *Scroop* and *Grey*, who had form'd a Conspiracy against his Majesty, were executed, desisted from his Enterprize, and absconded again; but a Priest, and some others of his Party, had the ill Fortune to be taken by the Lord *Abergavenny*; and being strictly examin'd, discover'd the Place where Sir *John Oldcastle* had laid up Arms, and Money, to support the intended Insurrection. This Provision for the War was hid between two close Walls, contriv'd for that purpose; and amongst other things was found Sir *John's* Standard, upon which the consecrated Elements were curiously wrought; there were also the Cross of our Saviour, the Scourges, the Lance and Nails, all which were work'd in the Colours, to draw in the People and increase his Party.

Anno 1417, Sir *John Oldcastle* was near being surpriz'd in the Neighbourhood of *St. Albans*, at a Farm-house belonging to the Abbot of that Town; for the Abbot being inform'd Sir *John* lay conceal'd at one of his Tenants, sent some of his Servants, in the Night, to beset the House, and tho' they miss'd of Sir *John* they seiz'd some of the principal Men of his Party; they found also several religious Books adorn'd with Paintings,

tings, which the *Lollards* esteeming superstitious, had cut off the Heads of the Figures, and they had also eras'd the Names of the Saints out of the Litanies; and there were found also (as *Walsingham* says) some scandalous Papers in Dishonour of the blessed Virgin: These Books were sent over to the King into *Normandy*, and by him return'd to the Archbishop.

Upon this Occasion the *Lollards* were loudly declaim'd against at *St. Paul's Cross*, and a tragical Representation made of the Matter; and not long after *Sir John Oldcastle* was taken in *Powis Lands* in *Wales*. He stood upon his Defence, fought those who came to apprehend him, and refus'd to surrender his Person till he was wounded and disabled.

Sir John Oldcastle having been outlaw'd, upon an Indictment for High Treason (as above-mention'd) for that he, with divers others call'd *Lollards*, to the Number of Twenty Thousand, had assembled themselves at *St. Giles's in the Fields*, levy'd War, and conspir'd the Death of the King, and the Subversion of the Religion and Government establish'd; and standing also excommunicated for Heresy, he was brought before the Parliament on the 18th of *December* 1417; and it being demanded what he had to say why Execution should not be awarded against him according to Law, he run out into a Discourse foreign to the Matter, concerning the Mercy of God, &c. whereupon the Chief Justice requiring him to answer directly, if he had any thing to object against the Legality of the Process; he reply'd, *he could not own them for his Judges, as long as his Sovereign Lord King Richard was living in Scotland*. Upon this Answer a Rule was made for his Execution, viz. That he should be carried back to the *Tower*, and from thence drawn through *London* to the new Gallows

at St. *Giles's* in the Fields, and there be hang'd, and burnt hanging. Which Sentence, according to *Fox*, was executed with Rigour enough: He was hang'd as a Traytor, and burnt as a Heretick.

Sir Thomas More's Execution, 26 Hen. VIII.

1535.

SIR *Thomas More* having remain'd a Prisoner in the *Tower* about a Week after his Sentence, on the 6th of *July* early in the Morning, his old Friend *Sir Thomas Pope* came to him with a Message from the King and Council, to acquaint him, That his Execution was appointed to be before Nine that Morning. Whereupon *Sir Thomas* said, He thank'd him heartily for his good News. *I have been, says he, much obliged to his Majesty for the Benefits and Honours he has most bountifully confer'd upon me; yet I am more bound to his Grace, I do assure you, for confining me in this Place, where I have had convenient Place and Opportunity to put me in mind of my last End. I am most of all bound to him, that his Majesty is pleased to rid me out of the Miseries of this wretched World.* Then *Sir Thomas Pope* acquainted him, it was the King's Pleasure he shou'd not use many Words at the Place of Execution. *Sir,* said he, you do well to acquaint me with the King's Pleasure; for I had otherwise design'd to have made a Speech to the People; but it matters not, and I am ready to conform myself to his Highness's Pleasure. And I beseech you, *Sir,* you wou'd become a Suitor to his Majesty, that my Daughter *Margaret* may attend my Funeral. To which *Pope* reply'd, That the King was willing his Wife and Children, and other Friends should be present. *Sir Thomas Pope* being about to take his Leave, cou'd nor refrain from Tears. Whereupon *Sir Thomas More* said,

said, *Let not your Spirits be cast down, for I hope we shall see one another in a better Place, where we shall be free to live and love in Eternal Bliss.* And to divert Pope's Grief, he took up his Urinal, and shook it, saying merrily, *I see no Danger but that this Man may live longer, if the King pleases.*

About Nine he was brought out of the Tower ; his Beard was long, his Face pale and thin, and carrying a Red Cross in his Hand, he often lift up his Eyes to Heaven ; a Woman meeting him with a Cup of Wine, he refus'd it, saying, *Christ at his Passion drank no Wine, but Gall and Vinegar.* Another Woman came crying, and demanded some Papers she said she had left in his Hands when he was Lord Chancellor. To whom he said, *Good Woman, have Patience but for an Hour, and the King will rid me of the Care I have for those Papers, and every thing else.* Another Woman followed him, crying, He had done her much Wrong when he was Lord Chancellor. To whom he said, *I very well remember the Cause, and if I were to decide it now, I shou'd make the same Decree.*

When he came to the Scaffold, it seem'd ready to fall ; whereupon he said merrily to the Lieutenant, *Pray, Sir, see me safe up ; and as to my coming down, let me shift for myself.* Being about to speak to the People, he was interrupted by the Sheriff, and thereupon he only desired the People to pray for him, and bear Witness he died in the Faith of the Catholick Church, a faithful Servant both to God and the King. Then kneeling, he repeated the *Miserere Psalm* with much Devotion ; and rising up, the Executioner ask'd him Forgiveness. He kiss'd him, and said, *Pluck up thy Spirits, Man, and be not afraid to do thine Office ; my Neck is very short, take heed therefore thou strike not awry for saving thine Honesty.* Laying his Head upon the Block, he bid the Executioner stay till he

he had put his Beard aside, for that had committed no Treason. Thus he suffered with much Chearfulness ; his Head was taken off at one Blow in the same place where Bishop *Fisher* had suffer'd the Day before for much the same Cause.

His FAMILY and CHARACTER.

Sir *Thomas More* was Son of Sir *John More* Knight, one of the Justices of the *King's-Bench* : He was born in *Milk-street* in the City of *London*, Anno 1480, and received his Grammar Learning in *St. Anthony's School* there. After which, Cardinal *John Moreton* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, observing his great Parts, took him into his Family, and soon after sent him to *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, when *Grocynus* read the *Greek Tongue* publicly there, whom he constantly heard, and became a great Proficient in that Language, and in most other sorts of Learning, by the Care of *Linacer* his Tutor. He removed from *Oxford* to an Inn of *Chancery* in *London*, called *New-Inn*, and from thence to *Lincoln's-Inn*, and was at length call'd to the Bar. He came afterwards into the Favour of *Henry* the Eighth, who highly valued him for his Parts and Learning, and prefer'd him to the Mastership of the Requests, the Honour of Knighthood, the Treasureship of the *Exchequer*, Chancellorship of the *Dutchy of Lancaster*, twice join'd him Ambassador with Cardinal *Woolsey*, viz. once to the Emperor *Charles* into *Flinders*, and once to the *French King*. And on the Removal of Cardinal *Woolsey* (being then Speaker of the House of Commons) he had the Great Seal delivered him the 25th of *October*, 21 of *Hen. VIII.* and was declared Lord Chancellor of *England* ; in which Office no Man ever gave that universal Satisfaction as Sir *Thomas* did. When his Sons complained

complained how little they got under him, *I will do Justice*, said he, *for your sakes, to all Men, and will leave you a Blessing.* No *Subpœna* was granted but what he saw, no Order but what he perus'd, neither the King or Queen cou'd corrupt him, nor the whole Convocation fasten any thing upon him, nor did he leave one Case undecided in *Chancery*. His *Apothegms* were grounded on Experience and Judgment: He would say, 1. *The World is undone by looking at things at a distance.* 2. *To aim at Honour here, is to set a Coat of Arms over a Prison-Gate.* 3. *He that is covetous when he is old, is like a Thief that steals when he is going to the Gallows.* 4. *The greatest Punishment in the World was to have our Wishes.* 5. *We go to Hell with more Pains than we might go to Heaven.* 6. *The more of any thing we have but Riches, the more good we are.* 7. *Who wou'd not send his Alms to Heaven, who would not send his Estate whither he is to be banished?* He wish'd three things to Christendom. 1. An universal Peace. 2. An uniform Religion. 3. A Reformation rather of Lives than Religion. Mr. *Cambden* reports of him, That he us'd to compare the great Number of Women to be chosen for Wives, to a Bag full of Snakes, having amongst them but one Eel. If a Man puts his Hand into this Bag, he may chance to find the Eel; but 'tis a hundred to one if he be not stung with the Snake.

When Word was brought him, that the King had pardon'd all the Sentence but beheading, he said merrily, *God forbid the King shou'd use any more such Mercies to any of my Friends or Posterity.* Being urg'd by a certain Courtier to change his Mind while he was in Prison: To get rid of him, he told him, he had alter'd it; which this inconsiderate Gentleman hastening to acquaint the King with, was commanded to return and know wherein his Mind was chang'd. Sir *Thomas* told him, he had

now

now resolv'd his Beard should undergo the same Fate with himself; whereas he intended some time before to be shav'd, that he might appear to the People as before.

He was a Man well vers'd in all kinds of Learning: His *Utopia* is admir'd by all the World: His *Richard the Third* is of such Credit with Historians, that they place it in their Works, without the least Alteration; and he compos'd several other Pieces. His Monument is in *Chelsea Church*, where, 'tis said, Bishop *Fisher* lies buried with him in the same Grave.

His Head having continued for some Months upon *London-Bridge*, and being about to be thrown into the *Thames* to make room for others, his Daughter *Margaret* bought it, lest (as she said, when she was brought before the Council for it) it should be Food for Fishes. She enclos'd it in a Leaden Box, and kept it for a Relick.

His PERSON.

Sir *Thomas* was a Man of low Stature, well proportion'd, his Complexion inclining to be flegmatick, his Colour white and pale, his Hair neither black nor yellow, but between both; his Eyes grey, his Countenance amiable and chearful, his Voice neither big nor shrill, but speaking plainly and distinctly, not very tuneable, though he delighted much in Musick; he was pretty healthful, only as he grew in Years, he us'd to complain of a Pain in his Stomach, which was supposed to proceed from his writing much; he drank Water chiefly in his Youth, and liv'd abstemiously; but 'tis observable he was twice married, notwithstanding the Hazard he insinuates there is in Matrimony, when he compares it to a Bag of Snakes. And indeed let Men seem never
so

so well appriz'd of the Inconveniencies of thar State, and have said never so many severe things against it, first or last we all venture; but none with so ill a Grace as the old Batchelor, who has all his Life-time been railing at it.

The Execution of THOMAS Duke of NORFOLK.

ON the 2d of *June* 1572, about eight in the Morning the Duke was brought to a Scaffold erected on *Tower-hill*, attended by *Alexander Nowel*, Dean of *St. Paul's*, who having desir'd the People to keep silence, the Duke said:

It is not rare, good People, to see a Man come to die; although, Thanks be to God, since the beginning of the Queen's Majesty's Reign in this Place hath not been any. But since it is my Fortune to be the first, I pray God I may be the last, such hath been, and is the Mercifulness of her Majesty, whom God long preserve. You know I have been long looked for in this present Case of mine, divers times in this Place; but by her Majesty's Clemency prolonged hitherto. It is not common to see a Man of my Vocation to be a Speaker; nevertheless I will be brief, and gladly shew you the Estate of those Offences which my Conscience doth burden me for. I have been by my Peers found worthy of Death, whereof I do acquit them; for I come not hither to justify myself, neither yet to charge my Peers with Injustice, but rather submit myself to this which God hath prepared for me. And thus considering the Weakness of my Flesh and Blood, that at such time a Man's Senses will partly fail, I do mind to divide my Speeches into three Parts, desiring you to take it full and whole, and not to tear it in Pieces.

And

And first, in dealing in Matters temporal towards the Queen of Scots, I dealt not as a good Subject, for that I made not the Queen's Majesty privy thereunto, which indeed I confess I ought not so to have done; for this Offence I was committed to this House [pointing to the Tower] and, upon my humble Submission, deliver'd; then making Promise to the Queen's Majesty (whom I pray God long to prosper) never to deal in those Matters again: But contrary to my Submission and Promise made to the Queen's Majesty, abusing her Clemency towards me; which hath and doth grieve me more than any one thing hath done; I dealt in this Matter again, perfectly for saving my Life, and other Causes which I could alledge.

[Here Mr. Sheriff *Branch*, standing by the Duke, desir'd him very courteously to make an End as short as might be, for the time did spend.]

Then the Duke beginning again, said, it hath been bruited, that I took my Oath, and receiv'd the Sacrament, that I should never deal in those Matters again; which is untrue, and yet the Oath too much.

[Now Mr. *Christopher*, one of the Officers, hearing these Words, desir'd the Duke to be short; we are come hither, said he, to see you put to Execution, and we must not delay while these Speeches pass from you, for in this we hazard our Lives.]

Then the Duke said, I do not excuse myself, but I come to discharge my Conscience, and to acquit my Peers, and not to complain of any Injustice, for I have deserv'd this, and more a great deal, in that I have abus'd the Queen's Majesty's Mercy towards me; whom once again, with Hands lifted up, I pray God long to preserve and reign over you, and that my Death may be an

End

End of all Troubles ; and to augment my Fault, it is said I had Familiarity with evil Dealers : Indeed I will confess and tell you, that I never saw, nor never had Conference, but once with one *Radolph*, and yet never against the Queen's Majesty, God is my Judge ; altho' many lewd Offers and Motions were made to me ; for it is well known I had to do with him, by reason I was bound to him by Recognisance for a great Sum of Money ; and as for the two Letters that came from the Pope, I confess I did see them, the one cypher'd, the other decypher'd, I never consented to them, neither was I consenting to the late Rebellion in the North, notwithstanding I come not hither as unguilty.

To the second Part, I know I have not only been thought to be a Papist, a Favourer of Papists, and a Maintainer of them. God is my Judge, before whom I stand (lifting up his Eyes) I thank God I was never a Papist since I knew what Religion meant, but I did always detest Papistry, and all the vain Toys thereof, embracing ever, from the Bottom of my Heart, the true Religion of Jesus Christ, trusting, by the Assurance of my Faith in his Blood, that is my only Redeemer and Saviour : Indeed I must confess that I had Servants and Friends that were Papists ; but if thereby I have offended God's Church, or any Protestant, I desire God and them to forgive me.

Well now to the third Point, wherein I am to shew how much I am bound to the Queen's Majesty for her Mercifulness towards me, in that her Majesty hath promised to be good and gracious to my poor Children. I remember good Father *Latimer* making a Sermon in a more honourable Place than this is, out of the Pulpit (neither do I compare myself to him) he said, *That God did oftentimes take away a good and gracious Prince, for the*
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Sins and Disobedience of his Subjects, which God grant not to be in these Days; but that it will please God to continue and increase her Majesty's Years; yea, until the World's End, if it be his blessed Will and Pleasure. You have a most gracious Queen, as I must needs confess, and also Godly Religion; therefore look that your Livings and Conversations be answerable to the Religion of Christ that proves you; that God may prosper the Prince, overthrow the Pope, and maintain your Wealth and Quietness. Let not my Person, good People, make my Speech worse; they that have Factions (I speak not particularly, but generally) let them beware they be given over betimes; seek not to breviate God's Doings, lest God prevent yours.

And then the Sheriff hastening him, he turned to the People, and embracing Sir *Henry Lee*, said, I have, and always have had as true a Heart to my Prince as ever any Subject hath had. And so Sir *Henry Lee* staying him by the left Arm, he kneel'd down and ask'd the Queen's Majesty Forgiveness; and rising again, he embrac'd Mr. Dean of *Paul's* with a chearful Countenance; and afterwards for the most part shaking those that were on the Scaffold by the Hands, and desiring them to pray for him; among the rest, the Executioner did on his Knees desire Forgiveness of his Death, who did very courteously forgive him, and put into the Hand of the Executioner four Sovereigns of Gold, and eighteen Shillings and six Pence of Silver: This done, the Duke kneeling down, and the Dean of *Paul's* with him; he made his Prayers to God, and read the 51st *Psalms*, saying on to the last Verse save one, *viz. Build up the Walls of Jerusalem*; he paused and said, *The Walls of England, good Lord*: That Psalm finish'd, he began to read another, and at the seventh Verse

Verse of the Psalm ; he paused and said, I had almost forgotten, but not too late ; I ask all the World Forgiveness, and I forgive all the World : The Psalm finished, and other Prayers ; he said, *In manus tuas Domine commendo Spiritum meum*, Lord into thy Hands I commend my Spirit. Then he rose up and pulled off his Velvet Gown, his black Sattin Doublet, and his Velvet Night-cap, and gave them to the Executioner, and being in a white Fustian Waistcoat, he said to Mr. Dean of Paul's, this is the *white Sattin Doublet* I made to die in, which the Preacher did speak of, and so kneeling at the *Block*, he laid down himself, and rose again, and laid the *Straw* and other things in such sort, as he might in a more convenient manner yield himself for the speedier Execution. This done, his Eyes and Hands lifted up, Mr. Dean desired the People silence, and said, Now altogether, with one Voice, pray for him, saying, *Lord Jesus receive thy Soul* : The Duke yielding himself to the Block, refusing to have any Handkerchief before his Eyes, his Head was at *one Chop* cut off, and shewed to all the People, and afterwards his Corps was put into a Coffin appertaining to *Barking Church*, with the *Head* also, and the Burial-Cloth laid over him, and so was carried by four of the Lieutenant's Men, and was buried in the Chappel of the Tower by Mr. Dean of Paul's.

HIS C H A R A C T E R.

Incredible it is how the People lov'd him (says *Cambden*) which Love he got by his Bounty and singular Courtesy, not unbecoming so great a Prince. The wiser sort of Men were diversly affected about him ; some were terrified by the Greatness of that Danger, which, while he liv'd,

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seem'd

seem'd to threaten the State, by means of him and his Faction; others were mov'd with Pity towards him, as being a Man of so noble Descent, singular Goodness of Nature, goodly Personage, and manly Countenance; who might have been both a great Strength and Ornament to his Country, had not the cunning Practices of his malicious Adversaries, and his own false Hopes, attended with a shew of the publick Good, diverted him from his first Course of Life. They call'd also to remembrance the unhappy Fate of his Father, who being a Man most accomplish'd in all good Learning, and famous for Martial Glory, was beheaded in the same Place twenty-five Years before, and that for very light Causes, viz. for quartering the Arms of *Edward the Confessor* with his own; which, notwithstanding, we read that the *Mowbrays*, Dukes of *Norfolk*, from whom he drew his Descent, had formerly borne by Permission of King *Richard II.* *Cambden's Eliz. p. 178.*

The Execution of Dr. WILLIAM PARRY.

DR. *William Parry*, five Days after his Tryal, was drawn upon a Hurdle to *Palace-Yard* at *Westminster*, where he was executed as a Traitor in the Presence of many Members of Parliament, the Houses being then sitting: He boasted of his faithful Services to the Queen, and said he was never fully resolv'd in his Mind to have taken away her Life, but suffer'd without ever recommending himself to Heaven. *Cambden's Eliz. 308.*

His

His CHARACTER.

He was a *Welchman* by Nation, of obscure Parentage; he had taken his Degree of Doctor of Laws, and had been one of the Queen's sworn Servants, and being a Member of the House of Commons when the Bill was brought in against the Jesuits, he was the only Man that oppos'd it; alledging that it was a cruel and bloody Act, and of pernicious Consequence to the Nation: And refusing to give his Reasons, he was committed by the House; but afterwards, upon his giving his Reasons, and making his Submission, he was permitted to take his Place in the House again: He seems to have merited of the Queen, by first discovering the Plot against her; but being afterwards, by his own Confession, engag'd in several other Designs against her Life, and upon Principle too, he was thought too dangerous a Man to exercise her Clemency upon.

The Execution of JOHN BALLARD Priest, ANTHONY BABINGTON Esq; JOHN SAVAGE Gent. ROBERT BARNWELL Gent. CHIDIOCK TITCHBORNE Esq; CHARLES TILNEY and EDWARD ABINGTON Gent. (seven of the Conspirators against Queen Elizabeth) for High Treason.

ON the 20th of September, 1586, a Gallows being set up on purpose in *St. Giles's-Fields*, where they us'd to meet, these seven were drawn thither to their Execution.

John Ballard the Priest, the principal Conspirator, confess'd, that he was guilty of those things for which he was *Condemn'd*, but protested they

were never enterprised by him upon any Hope of Preferment, but only, as he said, for the Advancement of *true Religion*. He craved Pardon and Forgiveness of all Persons, to whom his Doings had been any *Scandal*, and so made an End ; making his Prayers to himself in *Latin*, not asking her Majesty Forgiveness, otherwise than *if he had offended*.

Anthony Babington Esq; also confessed, That he was come to die, as he had deserved ; howbeit he (as *Ballard* before) protested that he was not led into those Actions upon Hope of Preferment, or for any temporal Respect ; nor had ever attempted them, but that he was persuaded by Reasons alledged to this Effect, That it was a *Deed lawful and meritorious*. He craved Forgiveness of all whom he had any way offended ; he would gladly also have been resolved whether his Lands should have been confiscate to her Majesty, or whether they should descend to his Brother ; but howsoever, his Request was to the Lords, and others the Commissioners there present, that Consideration might be had of one whose Money he had received for Lands, which he had passed no *Fine* for, for which the Conveyance was void in Law. He requested also, that Consideration might be had of a certain Servant of his, whom he had sent for certain Merchandise into the East Countries, who by his means was greatly impoverished. For his Wife, he said, she had good Friends, to whose Consideration he would leave her : And thus he finished, asking her Majesty Forgiveness, and making his Prayers in *Latin*.

John Savage Gent. confessed his Guilt, and said (as the other two before) that he did attempt it, for that in Conscience he thought it a *Deed meritorious*,

ritorious, and a common Good to the Weal-publick, and for no private Preferment.

Robert Barnwell Gent. confessed that he was made acquainted with their Drifts, but denied that ever he *consented*, or could be in Conscience persuaded that it was a *Deed lawful*. And being urged that he came to the Court to spy Opportunities for the atchieving of their Purposes, and that being there, her Majesty observing his *prying Looks*, acquainted before with their Intents, she prayed God that all were well. To this he answered, That it was not unknown to divers of the Council, that he had Matters which he solicited, which was the Cause of his being there at that time ; but I confess (said he) at my Return, *Babington* asked me what News ; to whom I told, that her Majesty had been abroad that Day, with all the Circumstances that I saw there ; and if I have offended her Majesty, I crave Forgiveness ; and assuredly, if the Sacrifice of my Body might establish her Majesty in the *true Religion*, I would most willingly offer it up. Then he prayed to himself in *Latin*.

Chidiock Titchborne Esq; began to speak as followeth, *viz.* Countrymen and my dear Friends, you expect I should speak something ; I am a bad Orator, and my Text is worse : It were in vain to enter into the Discourse of the whole Matter for which I am brought hither, for that it hath been revealed heretofore, and is well known to the most of this Company ; Let me be a Warning to all young Gentlemen, especially *Generosus adolescentulis*. I had a Friend, and a dear Friend, of whom I made no small Account, whose Friendship hath brought me to this ; he told me the whole Matter, I cannot deny, as they had laid it down to be done ; but I always thought it *impious*, and denied to be a Dealer in

it; but the Regard of my Friend caused me to be a Man in whom the old Proverb was verified; I was *silent, and so consented*. Before this thing chanced, we lived together in most flourishing Estate; Of whom went Report in the *Strand, Fleet-street*, and elsewhere about *London*, but of *Babington* and *Titchborne*? No Threshold was of Force to brave our Entry: Thus we lived, and wanted nothing we could wish for; and God knows, what less in my Head than Matters of *State*? Now give me Leave to declare the Miseries I sustained after I was acquainted with the Action, wherein I may justly compare my Estate to that of *Adam's*, who could not abstain *one thing forbidden*, to enjoy all other things the World could afford; the Terror of Conscience awaited me. After I consider'd the Dangers whereinto I was fallen, I went to Sir *John Peters* in *Essex*, and appointed my Horses should meet me at *London*, intending to go down into the Country. I came to *London*, and there heard that all was *bewrayed*; whereupon, like *Adam*, we fled into the *Woods* to hide our selves, and there were apprehended. My dear Countrymen, my Sorrows may be your Joy; yet mix your *Smiles* with *Tears*, and pity my Case; I am descended from an House, from two hundred Years before the Conquest, never stained till this my Misfortune; I have a Wife and one Child; my Wife *Agnes*, my dear Wife, and there's my Grief, and six Sisters left on my Hand; my poor Servants, I know, their Master being taken, were dispersed, for all which I do most heartily grieve; I expected some Favour, tho' I deserved nothing less, that the Remainder of my Years might in some sort have recompensed my former Guilt, which seeing I have missed, let me now meditate upon the Joys I hope to enjoy. This done, he prayed first in *Latin*, and then in *English*, basking her Majesty, and

all the World, heartily, Forgiveness, and that he hoped stedfastly, now at this his last Hour, his Faith would not fail.

Charles Tilney said, I am a Catholick, and believe in Jesus Christ, and by his Passion I hope to be saved ; and I confess I can do nothing without him, which Opinion all Catholicks firmly hold ; and whereas they are thought to hold the contrary, they are in that, as in all other things, greatly abused. To *Dr. White*, seeming to School him in Points of Religion, differing from those which he held ; he spoke in anger, I came hither to die, Doctor, and not to argue. He prayed in *Latin* for himself, and after he prayed for Queen *Elizabeth*, that she might live long ; and warned all young Gentlemen, of what Degree or Calling soever, to take warning by him.

Edward Abington said, I come hither to die, holding all Points firmly that the Catholick Church doth ; and for the Matters whereof I am condemned, I confess all, saving the Death of her Majesty, to the which I never consented. He feared, as he said, great Bloodshed in *England* before it were long : Sheriff *Ratliffe* said, *Abington*, Seest thou all these People, whose Blood shall be demanded at thy Hands, if thou, dying, conceal that which may turn to their Peril ? therefore tell why, or which way such Blood should be shed : He said, All that I know, you have of Record ; and at last, said he, this Country is hated of all Countries for her Iniquity, and God loves it not. And being urged by *Dr. White*, to be of a lively Faith ; he answered, he believed stedfastly in the Catholick Faith : The Doctor asked him, how he meant, for I fear me, said he, thou deceivest thyself : He answered, That Faith and Religion which is holden almost in all Christendom, except here in *England*. Thus done, he willed them not

to trouble him any longer with any more Questions, but made his Prayers to himself in *Latin*.

Ballard was first executed. He was cut down and bowell'd with great Cruelty while he was alive. *Babington* beheld *Ballard's* Execution without being in the least daunted; whilst the rest turned away their Faces, and fell to Prayers upon their Knees. *Babington* being taken down from the Gallows alive too, and ready to be cut up, he cried aloud several times in *Latin*, *Parce mihi Domine Jesu*, spare or forgive me O Lord Jesus! *Savage* broke the Rope, and fell down from the Gallows, and was presently seiz'd on by the Executioner, his Privities cut off, and his Bowels taken out while he was alive. *Barnwell*, *Titchborne*, *Tilney* and *Abington* were executed with equal Cruelty. *Cam. Brit.* 344.

The Execution of THOMAS SALISBURY, HENRY DONN, EDWARD JONES, JOHN CHARNOCK, JOHN TRAVERS, ROBERT GAGE, JEROME BELLAMY, for High Treason, the 21st of September, 1586. Being drawn to the Place of Execution.

T*homas Salisbury* Esq; said, Sithence it hath pleased God to appoint this Place for my End, I thank his infinite Goodness for the same; I confess that I have deserved Death, and that I have offended her Majesty, whom to forgive me I heartily beseech, with all others whom I have any way offended; I desire all true Catholicks to pray for me, and I desire them, as I beseech God they may, to endure with Patience whatsoever shall be laid upon them, and never to enter into any Action of Violence for Remedy: Then he said his Prayers, looking earnestly with his Eyes to Heaven, and prayed in *Latin* a long while: When he had thus

thus done, he cried in *English* and *Latin*, Father forgive me.

Henry Donn, Yeoman, said, Do the People expect I should say any thing? I was acquainted, I confess, with their Practices, but I never did intend to be a Dealer in them: *Babington* oftentimes requested me to be one, and said, for that he loved me well, he would bestow me in one of the best Actions; which should have been the Delivery of the Queen of *Scots*, to which I could not for a long time agree; at length, by many urgent Persuasions he won me, so as I told him I would do my best: And being asked, as he was ascending the Ladder, whether he thought it lawful to kill her Majesty: He answer'd, No, no; for I take her to be my lawful and natural Prince. And (as *Salisbury*) he desir'd all Catholicks to endure with Patience, and never to attempt any thing against her Majesty, under whose Government he had lived quietly, until within these ten Weeks, that those things were first imparted unto him; and whereas he was indebted to divers, and divers in like manner to him, he forgave all that was owing to him, and craved Forgiveness of what he owed: He desired God to forgive *Babington*, the only Cause of his Fall and Death; and was right sorry for a Gentlewoman, one Mrs. *Belamy*, at whose House he, with the rest, were relieved after they fled; he prayed God, whom he had chiefly offended, next her Majesty; and last, of all the People, Forgiveness; saying, No Soul was more sorrowful than his, nor none more sinful; and prayed for her Majesty, wishing she might live in all Happiness, and after this Life, be eternized in everlasting Bliss; and so he pray'd in *Latin* and *English*.

Edward

Edward Jones said, I come hither to die, but how rightfully God knows; for thus stands my Case: At *Trinity Term* last, *Mr. Salisbury* made me acquainted with their Purposes; and for that he knew me to be well horsed, he thought me as fit as any to attempt the Delivery of the Queen of Scots, and requested me to be one; which I utterly denied, altogether misliking their Practices, and persuading him, by what Means I might, from it; and told him, this was the haughty and ambitious Mind of *Anthony Babington*, which would be the Destruction of himself and Friends, whose Company I wished him to refrain; and for that I would have him out of his Company; I have divers times lent him Money, and pawned my Chain and Jewels to buy him Necessaries to go into the Country. And whereas I had made Conveyance of my Lands to divers Uses, with some Annuities, and placed my Wife with my Friends, and given over Housekeeping, and by reason of my Conscience, thought to live at ease; I called my Servants together again, and began to keep House more freshly than ever I did, only because I was weary to see *Salisbury's* straggling, and for that I was willing to keep him about home; and never consented to any of his Treasons, but always advised him to beware; for tho' I was, and am a *Catholick*, yet I took it to be a most wicked Act to offer Violence to my natural Prince. I did intend to go into *Ireland* with *Mr. Edward Fitton*, and there to have served; until at length, very shortly after this, my determinate Mind being not settled, I received a Note of their Names, amongst whom was the Name of my dear Friend: Then I began to fear what hath happened; I heard that Night he would be at my House; and indeed he came thither about twelve a-clock, and the Door being opened him, as he was very familiar

liar with me, he came running up to my Bed-side with a Candle in his Hand, which he took from one of my Men, saluting me with these Words, *Ned Jones* how dost thou? Ah! *Tom*, said I, Art thou one of them that shouldst have killed the Queen? Yea, said he, what meanest thou by that? see, and read this, said I, giving him the Note wherein his Name was; he seeing, turned about and said, there be many Catholics in *England* as far in this Act as we are; the more the worse, quoth I. Here is the Sum of my Fault, in which I know I have offended her Majesty; first, because I did conceal it at *London*, and lastly, because I did not apprehend my dear Friend *Tom* being in my House; for which Fault I am heartily sorry, and do ask her Majesty Forgiveness. There is one thing wherein I am to move you, concerning my Debts; I have set them down so near as I could what they are: Good Sir *Francis Knowles*, I shall intreat you to be a mean to her Majesty that there may be some Care had of my Creditors and Debtors.

The Debts which I owe do amount, in the whole, to 980 *l*.

The Debts which are owing me are 1600 *l*.

But who shall look into my Compting-house shall find many of 100 *l*. 200 *l*. or 300 *l*. whereof all is discharged, except of some 50 *l*. and some 40 *l*. and such like, without any Defeasance, and lie only in my Credit; so that unless some Man of Conscience enter into the Action of my Compting-house, it is like to be the utter undoing of a Number; but God knows my Mind, and I hope it shall not be laid to my Charge; and so concluded with his Prayers, first in *Latin*, and then in *English*, that the People might better understand what he prayed.

John

John Charnock and *John Travers* having their Minds wholly fixt on Prayer, recommended themselves to God and the Saints. *Gage* extolled the Queen's great Grace and Bounty to his Father, and detested his own perfidious Ingratitude towards his Princess. And *Ferome Bellamy*, with Confusion and deep Silence, suffer'd last.

The Queen being inform'd of the Severity us'd in the Executions the Day before, and detesting such Cruelty, gave express Orders that these should be us'd more favourably ; and accordingly they were permitted to hang till they were quite dead before they were cut down and bowell'd.

Their C H A R A C T E R S.

The Conspirators were most of them Gentlemen of good Families, whom nothing but the specious Pretence of Religion could probably have prevail'd upon to turn Assassins.

The Execution of M A R Y Queen of S C O T S, the 8th of February, 1587.

Queen *Elizabeth*, after some Hesitation, having deliver'd a Writing to *Davison*, one of her Secretaries, sign'd with her own Hand, commanding a Warrant, under the great Seal of *England*, to be drawn up for the Execution ; which was to lie in readiness in Case of any dangerous Attempt upon Queen *Elizabeth*, and commanded him to acquaint no Man therewith ; the next Day the Queen changed her Mind, and commanded *Davison* by *Killegrew* that the Warrant should not be drawn. *Davison* came presently to the Queen, and told her that it was drawn and under Seal already ; at which she was somewhat mov'd, and

and blam'd him for making such haste. He notwithstanding acquainted the Council both with the Warrant and the whole Matter, and easily perswaded them, who were apt to believe what they desir'd, that the Queen had commanded it should be executed. Hereupon, without any Delay, *Beale*, who in respect of Religion was the Queen of Scots most bitter Adversary, was sent down with one or two Executioners, and a Warrant, wherein Authority was given to the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Cumberland*, and others, to see Execution done according to Law; and this without the Queen's Knowledge. And tho' she at that very time told *Davison* that she would take another Course, yet did not he for all that call *Beale* back.

As soon as the Earls were come to *Fotheringhay*, they, together with Sir *Amias Pawlet*, and Sir *Drue Drury*, to whose Custody the Queen of Scots was committed, came to her and told her the Cause of their coming, reading the Warrant, and in few Words admonish'd her to prepare her self for Death, for she was to die the next Day. She undauntedly, and with a compos'd Spirit, made this Answer: *I did not think the Queen, my Sister, would have consented to my Death, who am not subject to your Law and Jurisdiction: But seeing her Pleasure is so, Death shall be to me most welcome; neither is that Soul worthy of the high and everlasting Joys above, whose Body cannot endure one Stroke of the Executioner.*

She desir'd she might have Conference with her Almoner, her Confessor, and *Melvin*, the Master of her Household: For her Confessor, it was flatly deny'd that he should come at her; and the Earls recommended to her the Bishop, or the Dean of *Peterborough*, to comfort her; whom she refusing, the Earl of *Kent*, in a hot burning Zeal
to

to Religion, broke forth into these Words among other Speeches : *Your Life will be the Death of our Religion, as contrariwise your Death will be the Life thereof.* Mention being made of *Babington*, she constantly denied his Conspiracy to have been at all known to her, and the Revenge of her Wrong she left to God. Then enquiring what was become of *Nawe* and *Curle* ; she ask'd whether it were ever heard of before that Servants were suborn'd and accepted as Witnesses against their Masters Life.

When the Earls were departed, she commanded Supper to be hasten'd, that she might the better dispose of her Concerns. She sup'd temperately, as her manner was ; and seeing her Servants, both Men and Women, weeping and lamenting as she sat at Supper ; she comforted them with great Courage and Magnanimity, bad them leave mourning, and rather rejoice that she was now to depart out of a World of Miseries. Turning to *Burgoin*, her Phyfician, she ask'd him whether he did not now find the Force of Truth to be great ; *They say* (quoth she) *that I must die because I have plotted against the Queen's Life, yet the Earl of Kent tells me, there is no other Cause of my Death, but that they are afraid for their Religion because of me ; neither hath my Offence against the Queen, but their Fear because of me, drawn this End upon me, while some, under the Colour of Religion, and the publick Good, aim at their own private Respects and Advantages.*

Towards the End of Supper she drank to all her Servants, who pledg'd her in Order upon their Knees, mingling Tears with the Wine, and begging Pardon for their Neglect of their Duty ; as she also in like manner did of them.

After Supper she perus'd her Will, read over the Inventory of her Goods and Jewels, and wrote down the Names of those to whom she bequeath'd every Particular. To some she distributed

buted Money with her own Hand. To her Confessor she wrote a Letter that he would make Intercession for her to God in his Prayers. She wrote also Letters of Recommendations for her Servants to the *French King* and the *Duke of Guise*. At her wonted time she went to Bed, slept some Hours, and then waking, spent the rest of the Night in Prayer.

The fatal Day being come, which was the 8th of *February*, she dress'd her self as gorgeously as she was wont to do upon festival Days, and calling her Servants together, commanded her Will to be read; pray'd them to take their Legacies in good Part, for her Ability would not extend to giving them any greater Matters.

Then fixing her Mind wholly upon God in her Oratory or ordinary Place of Prayer, with Sighs and Groans, and Prayers, she beg'd his Divine Grace and Favour, till such time as *Thomas Andrews*, Sheriff of the County, acquainted her that she must now come forth: And forth she came with State, Countenance and Presence majestically compos'd; a chearful Look, and a Matron-like and modest Habit; her Head cover'd with a Linnen Veil, and that hanging down to the Ground, her Prayer-Beads hanging at her Girdle, and carrying a Crucifix of Ivory in her Hands.

In the Porch she was receiv'd by the Earls and other Noblemen, where *Melvin*, her Servant, falling upon his Knees, and pouring forth Tears, bewail'd his hard Hap, that he was to carry into *Scotland* the woful Tidings of the unhappy Fate of his Lady and Mistress: She thus comforted him, *Lament not, but rather rejoice, thou shalt by and by see Mary Stuart freed from all her Cares. Tell them that I die constant in my Religion, and firm in my Fidelity and Affection towards Scotland and France.*

God

God forgive them who have thirsted after my Blood, as Harts do after the Fountain. Thou, O God ! who art Truth itself, and perfectly and truly understandest the inward Thoughts of my Heart, knowest how greatly I have desir'd that the Kingdoms of England and Scotland might be united into one. Commend me to my Son, and assure him that I have done nothing which may be prejudicial to the Kingdom of Scotland ; admonish him to hold in Amity and Friendship with the Queen of England ; and see thou do him faithful Service.

And now the Tears trickling down, she bad *Melvin* several times farewell, who wept as fast as she. Then turning to the Earls, she pray'd them that her Servants might be civilly dealt withal : That they might enjoy their Legacies, that they might stand by her at her Death, and might be sent back into their own Country with Letters of safe Conduct. The former Request they granted, but that they should stand by her at her Death, the Earl of *Kent* shew'd himself somewhat unwilling, fearing some Superstition. Fear it not (said she) *These harmless Souls desire only to take their last Farewel of me : I know my Sister Elizabeth would not have denied me so small a Matter, that my Women should be then present, were it but for the Honour of the female Sex. I am her near Kinswoman, descended from Henry VII. Queen Dowager of France, and anointed Queen of Scots.*

When she had said this, and turned her self aside, it was at last granted, that such of her Servants as she should name should be present. She named *Melvin*, *Burgoin* her Physician, her Apothecary, her Surgeon, two waiting Women, and others, of whom *Melvin* bore up her Train. So the Gentlemen, two Earls and the Sheriff going before her, she came to the Scaffold, which was built at the upper End of the Hall, on which was plac'd a Chair, a Cushion, and a Block, all cover'd

ver'd with black Cloth. As soon as she was set down, and Silence commanded, *Beale* read the Warrant : She heard it attentively, yet as if her Thoughts were taken up with somewhat else. Then *Fletcher*, Dean of *Peterborough*, began a long Speech to her, touching the Condition of her Life past, present, and to come. She interrupted him once or twice as he was speaking, pray'd him not to trouble himself, protesting that she was firmly fix'd and resolv'd in the ancient Catholick *Roman* Religion, and for it was ready to shed her last Blood. When he earnestly persuaded her to true Repentance, and to put her whole Trust in Christ by an assured Faith : She answer'd, That in that Religion she was both born and bred, and now ready to die. The Earls said they would pray with her, to whom she said, That she would give them hearty Thanks if they would pray for her ; but to join, said she, in Prayer with you, who are of another Profession, would be in me a heinous Sin. Then they appointed the Dean to pray ; with whom, while the Multitude that stood round about were praying, she fell down upon her Knees, and holding the Crucifix before her in her Hands, pray'd in *Latin*, with her Servants, out of the Office of the blessed Virgin *Mary*.

After the Dean had made an End of praying, she in *English* recommended the Church, her Son and Queen *Elizabeth* to God, beseeching him to turn away his Wrath from this Island, and professing that she repos'd her Hope of Salvation in the Blood of Christ : Lifting up the Crucifix, she call'd on the Celestial Choir of Saints to make Intercession to him for her : She forgave all her Enemies, and kissing the Crucifix, and signing her self with the Cross, she said, *As thy Arms, O Christ ! were spread out upon the Cross, so receive me with the stretched out Arms of thy Mercy, and forgive my Sins.*

Then the Executioners ask'd her Forgiveness, which she granted them. And when her Women had taken off her upper Garments (which she was eager and hasty to have done) wailing and lamenting the while, she kiss'd them, and signing them with the Cross, with a chearful Countenance bid them forbear their womanish Lamentations, for now she should rest from all her Sorrows. In like manner turning to her Men-Servants, who also wept, she sign'd them with the Cross, and smiling, bid them farewell. And now having cover'd her Face with a Linnen Handkerchief, and laying her self down to the Block, she recited that Psalm, *In thee, O Lord! do I put my Trust, let me never be confounded.* Then stretching forth her Body, and repeating many times, *Into thy Hands, O Lord! I commend my Spirit,* her Head was taken off at two Strokes: The Dean crying out, *So let Queen Elizabeth's Enemies perish;* the Earl of Kent answering *Amen,* and the Multitude sighing and sorrowing. Her Body was embalmed and order'd with due and usual Rites, and afterwards interr'd, with a Royal Funeral, in the Cathedral Church of *Peterborough*. A pompous Obsequy was also perform'd for her at *Paris*, by Procurement of the *Guises*, who to their great Commendations perform'd all the highest Offices of Kindness to their Kinswoman both alive and dead. *Cambd. Eliz. 382.*

Her CHARACTER by CAMBDEN.

This lamentable End had *Mary Queen of Scots*, Daughter to *James the 5th King of Scots*, Great Grand-daughter to *Henry the 7th King of England*, by his eldest Daughter, in the 46th Year of her Age, and the 18th of her Imprisonment. A Lady fix'd and constant in her Religion, of singular
Piety

Piety towards God, invincible Magnanimity of Mind, Wisdom above her Sex, and admirable Beauty ; a Lady to be reckon'd in the List of those Princesses which have chang'd their Felicity for Misery and Calamity. While yet an Infant she was earnestly desir'd by *Henry VIII.* King of *England*, for his Son Prince *Edward*, and by *Henry* the II^d King of *France*, for *Francis* the Dauphin, both of them striving who should have her for his Daughter-in-law. At five Years old she was convey'd into *France*, and at fifteen married to the Dauphin. She was Queen of *France* a Year and four Months. After the Death of her Husband she return'd into *Scotland*, was married again to *Henry Stuart*, Lord *Darnly*, and bore *James* the first Monarch of *Great Britain*. By *Murray*, her base Brother, and others her ungrateful and ambitious Subjects she was much toss'd and disquieted, depos'd from her Throne, and driven into *England*.

By some *English*-men, who were careful for preserving their Religion, and providing for the Queen's Safety, she was (as indifferent Censurers have thought) circumvented ; and by others, who were desirous to restore the *Romish* Religion, thrust forward to dangerous Undertakings ; and overborn by the Testimonies of her Secretaries, who seem'd to be brib'd and corrupted with Money.

Near her Tomb this EPI TAPH was set up, but soon after taken away.

MARY Queen of Scots, a King's Daughter, the King of France's Widow, the Queen of England's Kinswoman, and next Heir ; a Princess accomplish'd with Royal Virtues, and a Royal Soul ; having many times (but in vain) demanded her Royal Privilege, is by barbarous and tyrannical Cruelty extinct, who was the Ornament of our Age, and a Light truly Royal ;

and by one and the same wicked Sentence is both *Mary Queen of Scots* doom'd to an unnatural Death, and all surviving Kings, being made as common People, are subjected to a Civil Death. A new and unexampled Tomb is here extant, wherein the Living are enclosed with the Dead: For know that with the sacred Ashes of Saint *MARY* here lieth violate and prostrate the Majesty of all Kings and Princes. And because (Reader that travellest this Way) the unrevealable Secret of Kings doth most sufficiently admonish Kings of their Duty, I say no more.

Her CHARACTER by Archbishop SPOTSWOOD.

Archb. Spotswood, in his History of the Church of Scotland, says, she was a Princess of many rare Virtues, but cross'd with all the Crosses of Fortune, which never any did bear with greater Courage and Magnanimity to the last. Upon her Return from *France*, for the first 2 or 3 Years she carried her self most worthily; but then giving Ear to some wicked Persons, and transported with the Passion of Revenge for the Indignity done to her in the Murder of *David Rizio*, her Secretary, she fell into a Labyrinth of Troubles, which forc'd her to flee into *England*, where, after eighteen Years Captivity, she was put to Death.

Reflections on the CHARACTER given her by CAMBDEN and SPOTSWOOD.

It is observable that both *Cambden* and *Archbishop Spotswood* are very tender of this Princess's Honour; they endeavour to draw a Veil over her youthful Failings, and present us only with the bright Side of her Character, when they sum it up; tho' there appear several Facts, even in these *Historians*, which bear hard upon her Conduct.

I shall

I shall not mention her Match with my Lord *Darnley* as one, (yet this is censur'd by some as a very imprudent Act, her People, as well as Queen *Elizabeth*, being so averse to it) for his Person is said to have been extremely agreeable, his Years suitable, and his Quality little inferior to the Queen's, being her first Cousin and next Heir to the Crown; and hard is it upon Sovereign Princes, if they have not an equal Freedom of Choice, in the most important Concern of their Lives, with the meanest of their Subjects.

But her preferring *David Rizio* from being her Fiddler to be Secretary of State; and after she had married the Lord *Darnley*, and he was proclaim'd King, setting up this *Rizio* to rival him, as it were, and admitting him to the greatest Intimacies, whilst she treated the King her Husband with Contempt: This seems to require an Apology. And indeed this Usage so provok'd the King, that one Evening, when the Queen was at Supper with the Countess of *Argyle* and *Rizio* (for the Queen us'd to sup with Company) he rush'd into her Apartment with the Lord *Ruthuen*, and four or five more; and *Ruthuen* seeing *Rizio* at the Table, bid him get up and come forth, for the Place where he sat did not become him.

The Queen starting up hastily, got between *Ruthuen* and *Rizio*, to save him; and *Rizio* clasping his Hands about her Middle, the King endeavour'd to loose them, desiring her not to be afraid, for they were come only to take Order with that Villain: Then was he drag'd down Stairs to the Gallery, and there they fell upon him, and striving who should give the first Blow, they kill'd him with many Wounds.

Well had it been (says the Historian) if they had taken him at another Time and Place than in the Queen's Presence: For besides the great

Peril of Abortion, which her Fears might have caus'd, the false Aspersions cast upon her Fame and Honour, by that Occasion, were such as she could never digest, and drew on all that Train of sad Accidents which afterwards ensu'd.

The Queen understanding *Rizio* was kill'd, wip'd her Eyes, and said, *No more Tears, I will think upon a Revenge.* Accordingly she caus'd several Persons concern'd in the Murder to be try'd, who were convicted and executed, and others were compelled to fly their Country: The King falling sick, she went to see him, and seem'd to be reconcil'd to him; but while his Majesty lay sick at *Edinburgh*, *Bothwell* having conspir'd his Murder, came upon him in the Night, as he lay asleep, and strangled him.

This very *Bothwell* the Queen soon after married: Indeed he was first brought to a Tryal and acquitted of the Murder, no Prosecutor appearing against him: But supposing the Story of the lascivious Letters, which *Buchanan* says pass'd between the Queen and *Bothwell* in the King's Lifetime, was false, and admitting that he was not really the Author of the King's Murder, yet with what Decency could she marry the Man, who lay under such Imputation? a Man who was suppos'd too to divorce his former Wife only to make way for this unhappy Match? But she found her Error in her Punishment, being driven out of her Kingdom by her own Subjects, and after a tedious Imprisonment brought to this tragical End: Indeed her heroick Behaviour, in this last Scene of Action, ought in some measure to obliterate the Memory of former Miscarriages, and must incline us to think she was not *so criminal* as her Enemies would suggest; but on the other Side, it will hardly consist with the Integrity of an Historian, when he takes upon him to give a Character, to conceal

conceal all Defects ; and tho' this is too commonly the Case, a judicious Reader can never be pleas'd with such Practice, for he can't but know that all Mankind have Failings, and to represent any Person as without, does not only discover great Partiality, but is very unnatural.

Earl of E S S E X ' s Execution.

ON the 25th of *February*, 1601, which was the Day appointed for his Execution, *Thomas Mountford* and *William Barlow*, Doctors of Divinity, with *Ashton*, the Minister of the Church in the Tower, were sent unto him early in the Morning to administer Christian Consolation to his Soul. In presence of these Men he gave Thanks to Almighty God from the Bottom of his Heart, that his Designs, which were so dangerous to the State, succeeded not. He told them, he had now look'd thoroughly and seriously into his Sin, and was heartily sorry he had so obstinately defended an unjust Cause at the Bar. He thank'd the Queen she had granted he should not be publickly executed, lest his Mind, which was now settled and compos'd, might be disturb'd by the Acclamations of the People, protesting that he had now learned how vain a thing the Blast of popular Favour and Applause was. He acknowledg'd how worthy he was to be *spued out* (these were his Words) by the Common-wealth, for the Wickedness of his Enterprize, which he liken'd to a Leprosy spread far and near, and that had infected many.

The Queen in the mean time waver'd in her Mind. One while relenting, she sent her Commands by *Sir Edward Cary* that he should not be executed ; but then remembring his perverse Obstinacy, that he scorn'd to ask her Pardon, and had

declar'd openly that his Life would be the Queen's Destruction, she soon after sent a fresh Command by *Darcy* that he should be put to Death.

Then he was brought forth between the Divines to a Scaffold erected within the Court-yard of the Tower: Near which sat the Earls of *Cumberland* and *Hertford*, Viscount *Howard* of *Bindon*, the Lord *Howard* of *Walden*, the Lord *Darcy* of *Chiche*, and the Lord *Compton*. There were present also some of the Aldermen of *London*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who, if we may believe himself, came with an Intent to make Answer if any thing should be objected against him by the Earl at his Death; but others thought he came to feed his Eyes with a Sight of the Earl's Sufferings, and to satiate his Hatred with his Blood. But being admonish'd not to press upon the Earl at his Death, which is the Part rather of ignoble Brutes, he withdrew himself further off, and beheld his Execution out of the Armory.

The Earl, as soon as he was come upon the Scaffold, uncover'd his Head, and lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, acknowledg'd that many and great had been the Sins of his Youth, for which, with most fervent Prayer, he beg'd Pardon of the Eternal Majesty of God, thro' Christ his Mediator; especially for this last Sin, which he term'd a bloody, crying, and contagious Sin, wherewith so many had been seduc'd to sin against God, their Prince, and Country. He besought the Queen and her Ministers to forgive him, praying for her long Life and prosperous Estate, protesting withal that he never intended to lay violent Hands upon her Person. He gave God Thanks that he had never been Atheist, or Papist, but had plac'd all his Hope and Confidence in the Merits of Christ. He pray'd God to strengthen his Mind against the Terrors of Death; desiring the Standers-by

to join with him in a short Prayer, which with broken Sighs, and fervent Affection of inward Devotion, he presently utter'd. Afterwards the Executioner asking Forgiveness, he forgave him : He recited the Apostle's Creed, and then laying himself down, placed his Neck upon the Block : And having repeated the first Verses of the 51st Psalm, he said, *In Humility and Obedience I prostrate my self to my deserved Punishment : Thou, O God ! have Mercy on thy prostrate Servant : Into thy Hands, O Lord ! I commend my Spirit.* His Head was taken off at the third Stroke, but the first took away all Sense and Motion. *Camb. Eliz. 621.*

His CHARACTER and FAMILY.

He was accomplish'd with all those Virtues which compleat and become a Nobleman : His Genealogy was ancient and very noble. The Sirname of his Family came from *Eureux*, a City in *Normandy*. His Revenue and Estate, together with his Dignity of Baron, came by a Marriage in former time with *Cicily*, the Daughter of *William Bourchier*, whose Grandmother was Daughter to *Edward the IVth King of England* ; her great Grandmother was Daughter to *Thomas of Woodstock*, Son of King *Edward III.* born of one of the Daughters of *Humphry Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford* and *Essex* : Whereupon the Title of Viscount *Hereford* was confer'd upon his great Grandfather *Walter* by King *Edward VI.* and the Honour of Earl of *Essex* upon his Father by Queen *Elizabeth*.

This *Robert* was educated at *Cambridge* in the Study of Learning and true Religion, and being recommended to the Queen by his Father-in-law, the Earl of *Leicester*, and made Master of the Horse, he had much ado to get into her Favour, because she did not well affect his Mother. But

no sooner had he by his dutiful Demeanor obtain'd her Favour, but she discharg'd him of a Debt which his Father had contracted in the Exchequer, chose him into the Order of *St. George*, and made him of her Privy-Council when he was scarce twenty-three Years of Age. She made him, several times General of her Armies, tho' Fortune often fail'd him. She continually heap'd Honours and Favours upon him, and highly esteem'd him because he bent his Mind wholly to noble Studies, and inur'd his Body to Perils and hazardous Attempts. When he had now not only an Appearance and Shew, but a real Interest in the Queen's Favour, he presently made it his Business (as the wiser Sort of the Courtiers complain'd) to go beyond both his Equals and Superiors, to disparage and dispraise all that were not at his Devotion, and frown upon those who had any Power or Grace with the Queen; by his courteous Behaviour and Liberality he hunted after popular Favour and Applause, which is always of short Continuance and unjust; and acquir'd Reputation with the Soldiery, which is perpetually dangerous. He began also out of the Greatness of his Spirit, rather than real Pride, to use some contumacious Carriage towards the Queen, especially after she had more than once, out of her Bounty and Goodness, restor'd him to her lost Favour, and thereby open'd a Way for conferring new Kindnesses upon him. But his Contumacy, together with an obstinate kind of extorting (as it were) Favours from her, his proud Neglect of Dutifulness and Respect towards her, with the subtil Contrivances of his envious Adversaries, by little and little chang'd, and at length alienated the Queen's Affections from him.

And

And indeed he seem'd not a Man made for the Court, being not easily induc'd to any unhandsome Action, of a softly and easy Nature to take Offence, but harder to remit it, and one that could not conceal himself, but (as *Cuffe* was wont to complain to me) carried his Love and his Hatred always in his Brow, and could not hide it. In a Word, no Man was more ambitious of Glory by virtuous and noble Deeds, no Man more careless of all things else.

On the fifth Day of *March*, after the Earl's Execution, were tried Sir *Christopher Blunt*, Sir *Charles Danvers*, Sir *John Davis*, Sir *Gilly Merrick*, and - - - - *Cuffe*, the Earl's Secretary. These were all convicted and executed as the Earl's Accomplices : As for the rest of the Conspirators, the richer Sort were fin'd, which very few of them ever paid : The rest had their Lives pardon'd, and their Offences remitted.

Southampton, and *Smith* the Sheriff of *London*, were kept Prisoners in the Tower ; but *Smith*, who was, upon the Informations of some few, and *Essex's* Credulity, falsely accus'd, and put to a great deal of Trouble, was either by the Queen's Clemency, or his own Innocence preserv'd from further Suffering, and at length admitted to Bail. *Camb. Eliz.* 630.

The EXECUTION of Sir WALTER RALEIGH Knt. at Westminster, on the 29th of October, Anno 16^o Jacobi Regis, 1618.

UPON *Wednesday*, the 28th of *October*, Anno Dom. 1618, the Lieutenant of the Tower, according to a Warrant to him directed, brought Sir *Walter Raleigh* from the Tower to the King's Bench Bar at *Westminster* : Where the Record of his Arraignment at *Winchester* was open'd, and

and it was demanded why Execution should not be done upon him according to Law.

He began, in way of Answer, to justify his Proceedings in the late Voyage.

But the Lord Chief Justice silenced him therein, saying, There was no other Matter there in Question, but concerning the Judgment of Death, that formerly had been given against him, the which the King's Pleasure was, upon some Occasions best known to himself, to have executed, unless he could shew good Cause to the contrary.

Unto which Sir *Walter Raleigh* said, That he was told by his Council, that in regard his Majesty, since the said Judgment, had been pleased to imploy him in his Service, as by Commission he had done, it made void the said Judgment.

But the Lord Chief Justice told him, That he was therein deceiv'd, and that the Opinion of the Court was to the contrary.

Wherewith he was satisfied, and desired that some reasonable Time might be allowed him to prepare himself for Death.

But it was answer'd him, That the Time appointed was on the Morrow, and that it was not to be doubted but that he had prepared himself for Death long since.

And I am glad, said the Lord Chief Justice, that you have given the World so good Satisfaction of your Religion, as by some Books, publish'd by you, you have.

Master Attorney General, requiring in the King's Behalf, that Execution might be done upon the Prisoner, according to the foresaid Judgment: The Sheriffs of *Middlesex* were commanded for that Purpose to take him into their Custody, who presently carried him to the *Gatehouse*.

From

From whence, the next Morning, between the Sheriffs of *Middlesex*, Sir *Walter Raleigh* was brought to the old *Palace-Yard* in *Westminster*, where a large Scaffold was erected for the Execution.

Whereupon, when he came, with a chearful Countenance he saluted the Lords, Knights and Gentlemen there present.

After which, a Proclamation was made for Silence, and he addressed himself to speak in this manner.

I desire to be borne withal, for this is the third Day of my Fever, and if I shew any Weakness, I beseech you to attribute it to my Malady, for this is the Hour in which it is wont to come.

Then pausing a while, he sat, and directed himself towards a Window, where the Lord of *Arundel*, *Northampton*, and *Doncaster*, with some other Lords and Knights, sat, and spake as followeth;

I thank God, of his infinite Goodness, that he hath brought me to die in the Light, and not in Darkness; (but by reason that the Place where the Lords, &c. sat, was some Distance from the Scaffold, that he perceived they could not well hear him, he said) I will strain my Voice, for I would willingly have your Honours hear me.

But my Lord of *Arundel* said, Nay, we will rather come down to the Scaffold, which he and some others did.

Where being come, he saluted them severally, and then began again to speak as followeth, *viz.*

As I said, I thank God heartily, that he hath brought me into the Light to die, and that he hath not suffer'd me to die in the dark Prison of the Tower, where I have suffer'd a great deal of Misery and cruel Sickness; and I thank God that my Fever hath not taken me at this time, as I prayed to God it might not.

There

There are two main Points of Suspicion that his Majesty, as I hear, hath conceived against me.

To resolve your Lordships wherein his Majesty cannot be satisfy'd, which I desire to clear, and to resolve your Lordships of:

One is, That his Majesty hath been inform'd that I have often had Plots with *France*, and his Majesty had good Reason to induce him thereunto.

One Reason that his Majesty had to conjecture so was, that when I came back from *Guyana*, being come to *Plymouth*, I endeavour'd to go in a Bark to *Rochel*, which was, for that I would have made my Peace before I had come to *England*.

Another Reason was, That upon my Flight, I did intend to fly into *France*, for the saving of my self, having had some Terror from above.

A third Reason, that his Majesty had Reason to suspect, was the *French* Agents coming to me; besides, it was reported that I had a Commission from the *French* King at my going forth: These are the Reasons that his Majesty had, as I am inform'd, to suspect me.

But this I say, for a Man to call God to Witness to a Falshood at the Hour of Death, is far more grievous and impious, and that a Man that so doth cannot have Salvation, for he hath no time of Repentance; then what shall I expect, that am going instantly to render up my Account? I do therefore call God to witness, as I hope to be saved, and as I hope to see him in his Kingdom, which I hope I shall within this Quarter of this Hour, I never had any Commission from the *French* King, nor never saw the *French* King's Hand-writing in all my Life, neither knew I that there was a *French* Agent, nor what he was, till I met him in my Gallery at my Lodging unlook'd for:

for : If I speak not true, O Lord ! let me never enter into thy Kingdom.

The second Suspicion was, That his Majesty had been inform'd, that I should speak dishonourably and disloyally of my Sovereign ; but my Accuser was a base *French*-man, and runnagate Fellow, one that hath no Dwelling, a kind of a Chymical Fellow, one that I knew to be perfidious ; for being by him drawn into the Action of fearing my self at *Winchester*, in which I confesse my Hand was toucht, he being sworn to Secresy over-night, revealed it the next Morning.

But this I speak now, what have I to do with Kings ? I have nothing to do with them, neither do I fear them ; I have only now to do with my God , in whose Presence I stand, therefore to tell a Lie, were it to gain the King's Favour, were vain : Therefore, as I hope to be sav'd at the last Judgment-day, I never spoke dishonourably, disloyally, or dishonestly of his Majesty in all my Life ; and therefore I cannot but think it strange that that *French*-man, being so base and mean a Fellow, should be so far credited as he hath been.

I have dealt truly, as I hope to be sav'd, and I hope I shall be believ'd : I confesse I did attempt to escape, I cannot excuse it, but it was only to save my Life.

And I do likewise confesse, that I did feign my self to be ill-dispos'd and sick at *Salisbury* ; but I hope it was no Sin, for the Prophet *David* did make himself a Fool, and suffer'd Spittle to fall down upon his Beard, to escape from the Hands of his Enemies, and it was not imputed unto him : So, what I did, I intended no Ill, but to gain and prolong time till his Majesty came, hoping for some Commiseration from him.

But

But I forgive this *French-man* and Sir *Lewis Stewkeley* with all my Heart, for I have receiv'd the Sacrament this Morning of Mr. Dean of *Westminster*, and I have forgiven all Men ; but that they are perfidious, I am bound in Charity to speak, that all Men may take heed of them.

Sir *Lewis Stewkeley*, my Keeper and Kinsman, hath affirmed that I should tell him, that my Lord *Carew*, and my Lord of *Doncaster* here, did advise me to escape ; but I protest before God, I never told him any such thing, neither did the Lords advise me to any such Matter, neither is it likely that I should tell him any such thing of two Privy-Councillors ; neither had I any Reason to tell him, or he to report it ; for it is well known, he left me six, seven, eight, nine and ten Days together alone, to go whither I listed, whilst he rode himself about the Country.

He further accused me, that I should shew him a Letter, whereby I did signify unto him that I would give him ten Thousand Pounds for my Escape ; but God cast my Soul into everlasting Fire, if I made any such Proffer of ten Thousand Pounds, or one Thousand ; but indeed I shewed him a Letter, that if he would go with me, there should be Order taken for his Debts when he was gone ; neither had I ten Thousand Pounds to give him ; for if I had had so much, I could have made my Peace better with it other ways, than in giving it to *Stewkeley*.

Further, When I came to Sir *Edward Pelham's* House, who had been a Follower of mine, and who gave me good Entertainment : He gave out that I had there receiv'd some Dram of Poison, when I answer'd him that I feared no such thing, for I was well assur'd of them in the House, and therefore wisht him to have no such Thought : Now God forgive him, for I do, and I desire God to forgive

give him ; I will not only say, God is a God of Revenge ; but I desire God to forgive him, as I do desire to be forgiven of God.

Then looking over his Note of Remembrance, Well, said he, thus far I have gone ; a little more, a little more, and I will have done by and by.

It was told the King that I was brought *per Force* into *England*, and that I did not intend to come again ; but Sir *Charles Parker*, M. *Tresham*, M. *Leake*, and divers know how I was dealt withal by the common Soldiers, which were 150 in Number, who mutiny'd, and sent for me to come into the Ship to them, for unto me they would not come, and there I was forced to take an Oath that I would not go into *England* till that they would have me ; otherwise they would have cast me into the Sea, and therewithal they drove me into my Cabbin, and bent all their Forces against me.

Now after I had taken this Oath, with Wine and other things, such as I had about me, I drew some of the chiefeſt to deſiſt from their Purpoſes ; and at length I perſuaded them to go into *Ireland*, which they were willing unto, and would have gone into the North Parts of *Ireland*, which I diſſuaded them from, and told them that they were *Red-Shankes* that inhabited there, and with much ado I perſuaded them to go into the South Parts of *Ireland*, promiſing them to get their Pardons, and was forc'd to give them 125 *l.* at *Kinſale*, to bring them Home, otherwise I had never got from them.

I hear likewise there was a Report that I meant not to go to *Guiana* at all, and that I knew not of any Mine, nor intended any ſuch Thing or Matter, but only to get my Liberty, which I had not the Wit to keep.

But I protest it was my full Intent, and for Gold; for Gold, for the Benefit of his Majesty and my self, and of those that ventur'd and went with me, with the rest of my Countrymen: But he that knew the Head of the Mine would not discover it, when he saw my Son was slain, but made away himself.

And then turning to the Earl of *Arundel*, he said, My Lord, being in the Gallery of my Ship, at my Departure, I remember your Honour took me by the Hand, and said, You would request one thing of me, which was, That whether I made a good Voyage or a bad, I should not fail, but to return again into *England*; which I then promised you, and gave you my Faith I would; and so I have.

To which my Lord answer'd, and said, It is true, I do very well remember it, they were the very last Words I spake unto you.

Another Slander was raised of me, That I would have gone away from them, and left them at *Guiana*.

But there was a great many worthy Men that accompanied me always; as my Serjeant-Major, *George Raleigh*, and divers others, which knew my Intent was nothing so.

Another Opinion was held of me, that I carried with me to Sea 16000 Pieces, and that was all the Voyage I intended, only to get Money into my Hands.

As I shall answer it before God, I had not in all the World in my Hands, or others to my Use, either directly or indirectly, above a hundred Pounds, whereof, when I went, I gave my Wife twenty-five Pounds thereof; but the Error thereof came, as I perceived, by looking over the Scrivener's Books, where they found the Bills of Adventure

venture arising to a great Sum, so raised that false Report.

Only I will borrow a little time of Mr. Sheriffs to speak of one thing, that doth make my Heart to bleed to hear that such an Imputation should be laid upon me, for it is said, that I should be a Persecutor of the Death of the Earl of *Essex*, and that I stood in a Window over-against him when he suffer'd, and puffed out Tobacco in disdain of him; God I take to Witness, I shed Tears for him when he died, and as I hope to look God in the Face hereafter, my Lord of *Essex* did not see my Face when he suffer'd, for I was afar off in the Armory, where I saw him, but he saw not me.

I confess indeed I was of a contrary Faction, but I know my Lord of *Essex* was a noble Gentleman, and that it would be worse with me when he was gone; for I got the Hate of those which wished me well before, and those that set me against him, afterwards set themselves against me, and were my greatest Enemies, and my Soul hath many times been grieved that I was not nearer him when he died; because, as I understood afterwards, that he asked for me at his Death, to have been reconciled unto me.

And these be the material Points I thought good to speak of, and I am now at this Instant to render up an Account to God, and I protest, as I shall appear before him, this that I have spoken is true, and I hope I shall be believed.

Then a Proclamation being made, that all Men should depart the Scaffold, he prepared himself for Death: Giving away his Hat, his Cap, with some Money, to such as he knew, that stood near him.

And then taking his leave of the Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and others of his Acquaintance, and

amongst the rest, taking his leave of my Lord of *Arundel*, he thanked him for his Company, and intreated him to desire the King that no scandalous Writing to defame him might be published after his Death, saying further unto him, I have a long Journey to go, and therefore I will take my leave.

And then putting off his Doublet and Gown, he desired the Headsman to shew him the Ax; which not being suddenly granted unto him, he said, I prithee let me see it, dost thou think that I am afraid of it? so it being given unto him, he felt along upon the Edge of it, and smiling, spake unto Mr. *Sheriff*, saying, This is a sharp Medicine, but it is a Physician that will cure all Diseases.

Then going to and fro upon the Scaffold on every Side, he intreated the Company to pray to God to give him Strength.

Then having ended his Speech, the Executioner kneeled down and asked him Forgiveness, the which laying his Hand upon his Shoulder he forgave him.

Then being asked which Way he would lay himself on the Block, he made Answer and said, So the Heart be streight, it is no Matter which way the Head lieth: So laying his Head on the Block, his Face being towards the East, the Headsman throwing down his own Cloak, because he would not spoil the Prisoner's Gown, he giving the Headsman a Sign when he should strike, by lifting up his Hands, the Executioner struck off his Head at two Blows, his Body never shrinking nor moving; his Head was shewed on each Side of the Scaffold, and then put into a red Leather Bag, and his wrought Velvet Gown thrown over it, which was afterwards convey'd away in a Mourning Coach of his Lady's.

Sir WALTER RALEIGH's Letter to the KING
the Night before his Death.

THE Life which I had, Most Mighty Prince, the Law hath taken from me, and I am now but the same Earth and Dust, out of which I was made. If my Offence had any Proportion with your Majesty's Mercy, I might despair, or if my Deserving had any Quantity with your Majesty's unmeasurable Goodness, I might yet have Hope; but it is you that must judge, and not I. Name, Blood, Gentility, or Estate, I have none; no not so much as a Being, no not so much as a *Vitam planta*: I have only a penitent Soul in a Body of Iron, which moveth towards the Loadstone of Death, and cannot be withheld from touching it, except your Majesty's Mercy turn the Point towards me that expelleth. Lost I am for hearing of vain Man, for hearing only, and never believing nor accepting: And so little Account I made of that Speech of his, which was my Condemnation (as my forsaking him doth truly witness) that I never remembred any such thing, till it was at my Tryal objected against me. So did he repay my Care, who cared to make him Good, which I now see no Care of Man can effect. But God (for my Offence to him) hath laid this heavy Burden on me, miserable and unfortunate Wretch that I am. But for not loving you (my Sovereign) God hath not laid this Sorrow on me; for he knows (with whom I am not in case to lie) that I honoured your Majesty by Fame, and loved and admired you by Knowledge; so that whether I live or die, your Majesty's loving Servant I will live and die. If now I write what seems not well-favoured (Most merciful Prince) vouchsafe to ascribe it to the Counsel of a dead Heart, and to a Mind that Sorrow hath confounded. But the more my Misery is, the more is your Majesty's Mercy (if you please to behold it) and the less I can deserve, the more liberal your Majesty's Gift shall

be : Herein you shall only imitate God, giving free Life : And by giving to such a one from whom there can be no Retribution, but only a Desire to pay a Lent-life with the same great Love, which the same great Goodness shall bestow on it. This being the first Letter that ever your Majesty receiv'd from a dead Man : I humbly submit my self to the Will of God, my Supreme Lord, and shall willingly and patiently suffer whatsoever it shall please your Majesty to afflict me withal.

WALTER RALEIGH.

The Copy of Sir WALTER RALEIGH's Letter to his Wife, the Night before his Death.

YOU shall now receive (my dear Wife) my last Words in these my last Lines My Love I send you, that you may keep it when I am dead, and my Counsel, that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not by my Will present you with Sorrows (Dear Bessie) let them go into the Grave with me, and be buried in the Dust. And seeing that it is not God's Will that I should see you any more in this Life, bear it patiently, and with a Heart like thy self. First I send you all the Thanks which my Heart can conceive, or my Words can rehearse, for your many Travails, and Care taken for me ; which tho' they have not taken Effect as you wished, yet my Debt to you is not the less ; but pay it I never shall in this World. Secondly, I beseech you, for the Love you bare me living, do not hide your self many Days, but by your Travels seek to help your miserable Fortunes, and the Right of your poor Child. Thy mourning cannot avail me, I am but Dust. Thirdly, You shall understand that my Land was conveyed bona fide to my Child : The Writings were drawn at Midsummer was twelve Months, my honest Cousin Brett can testify so much, and Dolberry too can remember somewhat therein. And I trust my Blood will quench
their

their Malice that have cruelly murder'd me, and that they will not seek also to kill thee and thine with extreme Poverty. To what Friend to direct thee I know not, for all mine have left me in the true time of Tryal. And I perceive that my Death was determin'd from the first Day. Most sorry I am, God knows, that being thus surpriz'd with Death I can leave you in no better Estate. God is my Witness, I meant you all my Office of Wines, or all that I could have purchased by selling it, half my Stuff, and all my Jewels, but some one for the Boy; but God hath prevented all my Resolutions. That great God that ruleth all in all; but if you can live free from Want, care for no more, the rest is but Vanity. Love God, and begin betimes to repose your self upon him, and therein shall you find true and lasting Riches, and endless Comfort: For the rest, when you have travelled and wearied your Thoughts over all sorts of worldly Cogitations, you shall but sit down by Sorrow in the end. Teach your Son also to love and fear God whilst he is yet young, that the Fear of God may grow with him; and then God will be a Husband to you, and a Father to him; a Husband and a Father which cannot be taken from you. Baily oweth me 200 l. and Adrian 600 l. in Jersey. I also have much owing me besides. The Arrearages of the Wines will pay your Debts. And howsoever you do, for my Soul's sake, pay all poor Men. When I am gone, no doubt you shall be sought to, for the World thinks that I was very rich. But take heed of the Pretences of Men, and their Affections, for they last not but in honest and worthy Men; and no greater Misery can befall you in this Life than to become a Prey, and afterwards to be despised. I speak not this (God knows) to dissuade you from Marriage, for it will be best for you both in respect of the World and of God. As for me, I am no more yours, nor you mine, Death hath cut us asunder; and God hath divided me from the World, and you from me. Remember your poor Child for his Father's sake, who chose you, and loved you in his happiest

Times. Get those Letters (if it be possible) which I writ to the Lords, wherein I sued for my Life : God is my Witness, it was for you and yours that I desir'd Life ; but it is true that I disdain'd my self for begging of it : For know it (my dear Wife) that your Son is the Son of a true Man, and who, in his own respect, despiseth Death and all his misshapen and ugly Forms. I cannot write much, God he knows how hardly I steal this time while others sleep, and it is also time that I should separate my Thoughts from the World. Beg my dead Body, which living was denied thee ; and either lay it at Sherburne (and if the Land continue) or in Exeter-Church by my Father and Mother. I can say no more, Time and Death call me away, the everlasting, powerful, infinite, and omnipotent God, that Almighty God, who is Goodness it self, the true Life and true Light keep thee and thine, have Mercy on me, and teach me to forgive my Persecutors and Accusers, and send us to meet in his glorious Kingdom. My dear Wife farewell. Bless my poor Boy. Pray for me, and let my good God hold you both in his Arms. Written with the dying Hand of sometimes thy Husband, but now alas overthrown.

WALTER RALEIGH.

SIR WALTER'S FAMILY and CHARACTER.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*, youngest Son of *Walter Raleigh Esq*; by *Catherine* his Wife, Daughter of *Sir Philip Champernoon Knt.* was born at *Budely* in *Devonshire*, in a House which his Family had long possess'd, call'd *Hays*. He was educated at *Oriel College* in *Oxon*, from whence he remov'd to the *Inns of Court* : But thinking it more easy to fight than talk himself into Reputation : And those active Times, and a busy warlike Princess pointing him out the Way to the Temple of Honour ; the
Sword

Sword he judg'd, with *Alexander*, the readiest Instrument to dissolve all Knots and tedious Obstacles to Greatness. *Collier's Hist. Dictionary. Life of Sir Walter. Cambden's Eliz.*

The first Campaign he made was in *France*, being one of those Gentlemen who compos'd that Troop of one hundred Volunteers, commanded by *Henry Champernoon*, Anno 1569. The Motto in their Colours was, *Finem det nobis Virtus*. Here it was his Valour first made him taken notice of; He serv'd also in the *Low Countries*, and afterwards in *Ireland*, in Quality of a Captain, Anno 1580. Where some Differences arising between him and the Lord *Grey*, they were both sent for over, and heard before the Council-Table, where *Raleigh* manag'd his Cause with that Address, that the Queen took particular Notice of him. The Gentleman, who writes the History of his Life, informs us, that coming from *Ireland* on this Occasion, and being equip'd in a very good Habit, which it seems was the greatest Part of his Estate (and which, he well observes, is one of the best Means of introducing a Man into the World whose Worth is unknown) as the Queen was walking in the Park, and coming to a watry Place, where she found some Difficulty to get over, Sir *Walter* immediately pulls off a new plush Coat he had on, and lays it down for her Majesty to tread on, which the Queen was extremely pleas'd with, and soon after took Occasion to requite: To such lucky Accidents sometimes do Men owe their Success: The greatest Merit is often defeated by a kind of Criminal Modesty, or a want of Opportunity to discover it self, while the forward and bold, tho' the most empty worthless things in Nature, often arrive at the highest Preferments; but this was not the Case of Sir *Walter*. He was a Gentleman

man of a good Presence, handsome, and well proportion'd, had a strong and natural Wit, and a better Judgment, a voluble Tongue, and good Address; and to these he had added a general Learning, being an indefatigable Reader, even while engaged in the Service by Sea or Land, and a great Observer of Men and Times: His Motto (says the Writer of his Life) was, *Tam Marti quam Mercurio*; tho' I find it in *Collier* to be, *Either die nobly, or live honourably*: Five Hours he us'd to sleep, four he read, two he spent in Discourse, and the rest he allotted for Business. There was not an expert Soldier or Seaman but he consulted; no valuable Treatise of Navigation, whether printed or Manuscript, but he read; observing that there was nothing of greater Consequence for the Advancement of Learning, than the finding out the plainest and most compendious Way of knowing and teaching things in every Science: His successful Services by Sea and Land continued him in the Queen's Favour to her Death [save that he fell under her Displeasure in the Year 1595, for being a little too familiar with one of her Maids of Honour, to whom he afterwards made ample Satisfaction, by marrying her.] He was very active against the *Spanish Armada* in 1588, and Joint-Commander with the Earl of *Essex* when he storm'd *Cadiz*: The Queen, to reward his Merit, made him Captain of her Guards, Warden of the *Cinque Ports*, and Governor of *Virginia*; a Country of his own Discovery, and at this Day one of the most flourishing Colonies belonging to this Crown. During his Confinement in the Tower, he compos'd that excellent Work, intitled, *The History of the World*; (from whence indeed the Character of this Gentleman may be best collected, every Man being best known by his Works.) Being weary of his Confinement, he propos'd to his

his Majesty King *James* to make him Master of a Gold Mine he had formerly discover'd in *Guiana* : The King clos'd with the Project, requiring him only to give him an Account of the Scituation of the Country, and the River by which he was to have Access to it, and what Strength of Shipping, &c. the Expedition would require : Which the King no sooner knew, but *Gondamore*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, by some Means was acquainted with it ; and Letters were dispatch'd to all Parts of the *Indies*, to prepare for their Defence, which was the true Reason of the ill Success of that Voyage. At his Return to *England*, *Gondamore* so exasperated the King against him for this Breach of the Peace, as he term'd it, that he was recommitted to the Tower, where, expecting to be made a Sacrifice to the *Spaniard*, he sent for Mr. *Burre*, who had printed his first Volume of *The History of the World*, and ask'd him how it sold ; *Burre* answer'd, It sold so slowly it had undone him ; (which it seems was false) whereupon Sir *Walter* takes the other Part, which was unprinted, out of his Desk, and sighing said, *Ah ! my Friend, hath the first Part undone thee ? the second Volume shall undo no more ; this ungrateful World is unworthy of it, and immediately threw it into the Fire, and set his Foot upon it till it was consum'd* : Besides his *History of the World*, he wrote a Treatise call'd, *The Cabinet Council*, containing the Arts of Government : *An accurate Account of his Catholick Majesty's Power and Riches* : *The Rise and Ruin of the Saracen Empire* : *A Treatise of Mines and Minerals* : *The Privileges of Parliaments* : Another Treatise, intitled, *Instructions to his Son and his Posterity*. Divers Speeches and Arguments in several Parliaments, &c. *Townsend's Hist. Athen. Oxon.*

Whether

Whether Sir *Walter* was really in that Plot against King *James*, of which the Jury, in Compliance with the Court, found him guilty, I shall not determine; but thus much is certain, there was not legal Evidence produc'd at his Tryal to convict him, and he had the hardest Measure from Sir *Edward Coke*, who was then Attorney-General, as well as from the Court, as ever Subject met with, several Points being rul'd against him directly contrary both to the Common and Statute Laws of this Kingdom.

On Thursday the 30th of January, 1605, Sir EVERARD DIGBY, ROBERT WINTER, JOHN GRANT, and THOMAS BATES, were executed at the West End of St. Paul's: And the next Day, Jan. 31, THOMAS WINTER, AMBROSE ROOKWOOD, ROBERT KEYS, and GUY FAUX, were executed in the Old Palace-Yard, Westminster. Conspirators in the Powder-Plot.

The Execution of Mr. GARNET, the 3d of May, Anno 1606. A Conspirator in the Powder-Plot.

ON the 3d of May, Garnet, according to his Judgment, was executed upon a Scaffold, set up for that Purpose at the West End of St. Paul's Church. At his arise up the Scaffold, he stood much amaz'd, (Fear and Guiltiness appearing in his Face.) The Deans of *Paul's* and *Winchester* being present, very gravely and christianly exhorted him to a true and lively Faith to Godward, a free and plain Acknowledgment to the World of his Offence; and if any further Treason lay in his Knowledge, to unburden his Conscience, and shew a Sorrow and Detestation of it: But Garnet, impatient of Persuasions, and ill-pleas-

ed

sed to be exhorted by them, desir'd them not to trouble him, he came prepar'd, and was resolv'd. Then the Recorder of *London* (who was by his Majesty appointed to be there) ask'd *Garnet* if he had any thing to say unto the People before he died ; it was no time to dissemble, and now his Treasons were too manifest to be dissembled ; therefore, if he would, the World should witness what at last he censur'd of himself, and of his Fact ; it should be free to him to speak what he list'd. But *Garnet*, unwilling to take the Offer, said, His Voice was low, his Strength gone, the People could not hear him, tho' he spake to them ; but to those about him on the Scaffold, he said, The Intention was wicked, and the Fact would have been cruel, and from his Soul he should have abhorred it, had it effected : But he said, He only had a general Knowledge of it by Mr. *Catesby*, which in that he disclosed not, nor us'd Means to prevent it, herein he had offended ; what he knew in Particulars was in Confession, as he said. But the Recorder wished him to be remembred, that the King's Majesty had under his Hand-writing these four Points amongst others.

1. That *Greenway* told him of this, not as a Fault, but as a thing which he had Intelligence of, and told it him by Way of Consultation.
2. That *Catesby* and *Greenway* came together to him to be resolved.
3. That Mr. *Tesmond* and he had Conference of the Particulars of the *Powder-Treason* in *Essex* long after.
4. *Greenway* had ask'd him who should be the Protector ? but *Garnet* said, That was to be referred till the Blow was past.

These prove your Privy besides Confession, and these are extant under your Hand. *Garnet* answer'd, whatsoever was under his Hand was true.

And

And for that he disclosed not to his Majesty the things he knew, he confessed himself justly condemn'd; and for this did ask Forgiveness of his Majesty. Hereupon the Recorder led him to the Scaffold to make his Confession publick.

Then *Garnet* said, Good Countrymen, I am come hither this blessed Day of *The Invention of the holy Cross*, to end all my Crosses in this Life: The Cause of my Suffering is not unknown to you; I confess I have offended the King, and am sorry for it, so far as I was guilty, which was in concealing it; and for that I ask Pardon of his Majesty. The Treason intended against the King and State was bloody, my self should have detested it, had it taken effect. And I am heartily sorry that any Catholicks ever had so cruel a Design. Then turning himself from the People to them about him, he made an Apology for Mrs. *Anne Vaux*, saying, There is such an honourable Gentlewoman who hath been much wronged in Report: For it is suspected and said, that I should be married to her, or worse. But I protest the contrary: She is a virtuous Gentlewoman, and for me a perfect pure Virgin. For the Popes Breves, Sir *Edmond Baynam's* going over Seas, and the Matter of the *Powder-Treason*, he referred himself to his Arraignment, and his Confessions: For whatsoever is under my Hand in any of my Confessions, said he, is true.

Then addressing himself to Execution, he knelt at the Ladder-foot, and asked if he might have time to pray, and how long. It was answer'd, He should limit himself, none should interrupt him. It appear'd he could not constantly or devoutly pray; Fear of Death, or Hope of Pardon, even then so distracted him: For oft in those Prayers he would break off, turn and look about him, and answer to what he over-heard,
while

while he seemed to be praying. When he stood up, the Recorder finding in his Behaviour as it were an Expectation of a Pardon, wished him not to deceive himself, nor beguile his own Soul; he was come to die, and must die; requiring him not to equivocate with his last Breath, if he knew any thing that might be Danger to the King or State, he should now utter it. Garnet said, It is no time now to equivocate; how it was lawful, and when, he had shewed his Mind elsewhere: But, saith he, I do not now equivocate, and more than I have confessed I do not know. At his ascending up the Ladder, he desired to have Warning before he was turned off. But it was told him, he must look for no other Turn but Death. Being upon the Gibbet, he used these Words: *I commend me to all good Catholicks, and I pray God preserve his Majesty, the Queen, and all their Posterity, and my Lords of the Privy-Council, to whom I remember my humble Duty, and I am sorry that I did dissemble with them: But I did not think they had had such Proof against me, till it was shew'd me; but when that was proved, I held it more Honour for me at that time to confess, than before to have accused. And for my Brother Greenway, I would the Truth were known; for the false Reports that are, make him more faulty than he is. I should not have charged him, but that I thought he had been safe. I pray God the Catholicks may not fare the worse for my Sake, and I exhort them all to take heed they enter not into any Treasons, Rebelions, or Insurrections against the King: And with this ended speaking, and fell to praying; and crossing himself, said, In nomine Patris & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, and prayed, Maria mater gratiæ, Maria mater misericordiæ, tu me à malo protege, & hora mortis suscipe. Then, In manus tuas, Domine, commendo Spiritum meum: Then, Per Crucis hoc Signum, (crossing himself) fugiat procul omne malignum.*

lignum. Infige Crucem tuam in corde meo, Domine. *Let me always remember the Cross; and so returned again to Maria mater gratiæ, and then was turned off, and hung till he was dead.*

The Execution of Sir J E R V I S E L V I S, Anno 1615.

ON Monday the 20th of November, 1615, he was executed at *Tower-hill*, upon a Gibbet there set of purpose, about six a-clock in the Morning.

He came on Foot to the Gibbet from Sheriff *Goare's* House, between Dr. *Whyting* and Dr. *Felton*, two of his Majesty's Chaplains; and coming to the Ladder's Foot, he talked a Word or two to the Executioner.

Then he went up the Ladder four or five Steps, the Executioner sitting over his Head, upon the Top of the Gibbet: Sir *Jervis* finding the Ladder to stand too upright for his Ease, spake to have it amended, which forthwith (he coming down) was done, being fastened in the Ground; and then he went up again six Steps, where after a while, sitting easily, he said:

Nobles, Right Worshipful and others, I am here come, as well to shew, explain, and unfold that which, at the time of my Arraignment, so many of you as were present expected; as also to shew that then I perceived I had lost the good Opinion of many, in standing so long upon my Innocency, which was my Fault, I confess, hoping now to recover the same, and your good charitable Opinions of me; which Fault I then saw not, being blinded with mine Errors, which made me account it no Sin.

But since my Condemnation, by Means and Help of these two Gentlemen here present (the two Doctors) I was persuaded of the Greatness of my Sin, and that it was so much the greater, by how much the more I did conceal

conceal it ; which by God's Mercy I perceiving, consulted not with Flesh and Blood, but thought, in this my Condemnation, my best way for my Soul's Health, to reveal to the Omnipotent and all-seeing God, the most secret and inward Intentions and Thoughts of my deceitful Heart, not once suspecting the Pains or Dispraises of the World, which I regard not at all.

It may be some will say, that this Place was most unfit for my Execution, appointed to terrify and daunt me so much the more ; but alas ! I fear not Death, Place, nor any such like thing, for I account it the King's and Council's special Favour that I die here ; for that I requesting the same, it was granted, whereby I see now this Tower, late wherein I should have been called to the State Business, and still might, if I had perform'd a more loyal Service to my King and Country than I did.

Next, That I was not appointed to Tyburn, a Place of more publick Reproach than now I am brought, being worthy to die by due and lawful Justice, in prosecuting this bloody and enormous Act against a kind Gentleman, who deserved not ill at my Hands, nor at any Man's else for ought I know.

But were it I had not trusted him, who was a most perfidious Wretch, I had not fallen into this same, which may warn all here present to take heed whom they trust in a bad Matter, and to admonish you that are trusted never to break honest and just Fidelity.

I was by divers Tricks drawn into this Action, which I received from the Earl of Northampton, Sir Thomas Monson, and none other ; but had I remembered the 119th Psalm, 115th Verse, and said with that holy Prophet, Away from me ye wicked, for I will keep the Commandments of my God ; then had I refused such like Tricks. Alas ! now too late ; there was my Fault, that I did not refuse them, and cast my self upon God's Providence, without any Dependency on Man, tho' never so honourable. Was ever any deceiv'd that did trust in God ? there was never any.

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Therefore

Therefore I admonish you all ; let none, how honourable soever he be, or the King himself, move you to any thing not agreeable to God's Word, do it not, reject it ; for this was my Fault, that I had not at the first opened this Plot to his Majesty, who no doubt would most justly and righteously have punish'd the same.

You Nobles, Worshipful, and others, let my Example teach you thus much, That you prophane not the holy Sabbath of the Lord, nor his good Creatures, nor that you turn (by a lascivious Course) Nights into Days, and Days into Nights, as I have done ; and that in serving God, you must not only read the Scriptures, but join Practice therewith ; for what Good else will the same effect, if the Heart be foul, bloody, and impure ?

Some here knew my Forwardness therein ; but I plead not Innocency that way, but cast it off, and confess, that of this great Assembly I am the most wretched Sinner.

You expect Speeches from me of some concealed Matters, and upon some of my Speeches used at the closing up of my Arraignment ; but I stand here loco Peccatoris, non Oratoris, yet I will shew you that I have opened to my Lord Chief Justice of England, since my Arraignment, that which to the uttermost of my Power I was able to verify, upon which then I took the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ ; and in further Testimony thereof, I will now seal it with my last and dearest Breath.

Nobles and others, to see your Faces it rejoiceth me, whereby you manifest your Love in granting my Request, to be Witnesses of my Death ; I see a Number of my Friends, there, there, there, [pointing as he spake] whom, out of their Loves, I entreat to beseech God to strengthen me in Death ; tho' ignominious to some, yet to me a bitter Cup, mingled to me with God's Mercy, a special Favour this way to call me Home, whereas he might have taken away my Life by shooting the Bridge, or some Fall, or otherwise ; and then this unrepented Sin, which I ac-

counted

counted no Sin (such was my Blindness) had been Damnation to me; for God is just, and the unrepented Sinner shall have no Salvation.

There is none of you present here, that knows how or in what sort he shall die, it may be in his Bed, it may be otherwise (God knows); I protest before you all, I never came over this Hill, in the chiefest of all my Prosperity, with more Joy than now I have at this present; for I now know that presently I shall behold the glorious Face and Sight of my Creator.

Take heed, and let my Example incite you to serve God truly and uprightly, better than I have done, lest a shameful Death overtake you, as it doth me, who am unworthy of my Parents Care in bringing me up.

It may be some will say I have a flinty Heart, because I shed no Tears; my Heart is Flesh as any others, and I am as faint-hearted to look Death in the Face as any others; but because my Use hath been not to shed Tears, I cannot now easily, except it be for the Loss of some great Friend, albeit now my Heart beginneth to melt within me, being wounded [with that the Tears stood in his Eyes] to see the Faces of some there present, whom I most earnestly love, and now must depart from with Shame; for worldly Regard I respect not, for well Mr. Sheriff knows, that (to shame this my sinful Flesh the more) I wish (if he had pleased) to have been brought from Westminster thro' the City, to have warned all Spectators how they should not escape without Judgment for Blood; for God is just.

I had almost forgotten to shew you a strange thing, which God brought to my Memory the last Night, which was this; I confess I have been a great Gamester, and especially on the other Side, have wasted and played many Sums of Money, which exhausted a great Part of my Means, which I perceiving, vowed seriously (not slightly or unadvisedly) to the Lord in my Vow and Prayers, Lord let me be hanged if ever I play any more! which not long after is most justly come upon me,

whereof you are all Eye-witnesses, because a thousand times since I brake this my Vow.

Then he espied one Sir Maximilian Dallison standing near the Gibbet on Horseback, and said unto him. You know, Sir Maximilian, what gaming we have had, and how we have turned Days into Nights, and Nights into Days: I pray you in time to leave it off, and dishonour God no more by breaking his Sabbaths, for he hath always enough to punish, as you now see me, who little thought to die thus.

To which Sir Maximilian answer'd him, Sir Jervis, I am much grieved for you, and I shall never forget what you have here said; whereunto Sir Jervis said, Look to it, do then.

Further, he continu'd his Speech, saying, Let no Man boast of the Abilities and Gifts of Nature, which God giveth him, for therein I displeased God, being transported with over-much Pride of my Pen, which obsequious Quill of mine procured my just Overthrow; upon the knitting of my Lord Chief Justice's Speech at my Arraignment, by reason of two or three Passages at the Bottom of my Letter, subscribed with my own Hand, which I utterly had forgotten, because I felt not any Sin; which when I heard, I saw none other but the Finger of God could thus point to this Fact; by this Means I do protest before God, and confess before you all, that I was so far overtaken by this bloody Fact, that for Satisfaction of the same, I willingly yield my dearest Blood, to the Shame of this my Carcass, not being so much grieved for the same as for others, that I wish I had hanged in Chains perpetually, so that I had revealed at first the heinous Plot.

Then should I have saved the Lives of some already dead, some in the Tower, some in the City, some over Seas, so should I have prevented many from being Widows, some from being Fatherless, and some from being Childless, among whom mine own Wife for one, and eight fatherless Children of mine, which I leave now be-

hind

hind me, and God knows how many be guilty of this Fact, and when it will be ended.

The Lord Chief Justice, upon closing up of my Speeches at my Arraignment, said I was an Anabaptist : I would to God I were as clear from all other Sins, as from that, for I always detested that Condition.

As for my Wife, some say she is a Papist ; but true it is, she comes so short from a sincere Protestant, (I mean in that respect) that when she is among Papists she cannot well forbear them.

Then he spake to the Sheriff, saying, If it may be permitted without Offence, I have somewhat to say, and that is this, Is it lawful for any one here to demand of me any Questions ? To which the Sheriff answer'd, It is not lawful ; wherefore good Sir Jervis (quoth he) forbear. Sir Jervis thereunto said, with doubling his Words, It is enough, it is enough.

I have here (quoth he) one that holdeth my Cloak, may I bestow somewhat on him ? The Sheriff answer'd, That you may Sir ; whereupon he call'd the young Man to him by his Name, who stood waiting at the Ladder's Foot, and gave him out of his Pocket some Pieces of Gold, or Silver, Here, take this, spend it ; which he with bitter Tears thankfully accepted. Dr. Whyting and Dr. Felton strained Courtesy, which of them should begin a publick Prayer, fitting for this Party's Condition, one of them willed the other ; but at last Dr. Whyting said, If you Sir Jervis can perform it your self, you of all Men are fittest to do it, with Efficacy both of Soul and Spirit ; whereupon he said, I shall do my best then ; but my Hearers, I crave your charitable Construction, if with half Words, and imperfect Speeches, I chatter like a Crane.

His Prayer being ended, he ask'd if he might pray privately ; the Doctor said, Yes Sir.

Then made he a short Prayer to himself, with his Face cover'd ; and after he uncover'd it, and said, Now I have pray'd, now I must pay, I mean, do

the last Office to Justice. With that Dr. Whyting said, Sir Jervis, you may stand one Step lower on the Ladder ; To whom the Sheriff answer'd, It is better for him, Mr. Doctor, to be where he is : Stay (quoth the Doctor) to the Executioner, for he hath given a Watch-word, he is in private Prayer again. Yea, quoth he, I know that, for he hath given me a Watch-word, when I shall perform my Office to him.

He uncover'd his Face after his second short Prayer, and first took his leave of all the Assembly, saying, with a chearful Voice and Countenance, *I pray you pray for me, who shall never more behold your Faces : Then he said with a great Fevency of Spirit, Lord I desire at thy Hands this bitter Cup of Death, as the Patient receiveth a bitter Potion, not once demanding what is in the Cup, but takes and drinks it off, be it never so bitter.*

As soon then as he had audibly said, *Lord Jesus receive my Soul*, which, it seems, was the Executioner's Watch-word, he presently turned him off the Ladder ; and being off, the Executioner's Man caught hold of one of his Feet, his own Man on the other Foot, whereby they suddenly weighed his Life ; where hanging a small Distance of Time, his Body not once stirred, only his Hands a little stirred and moved, being tied only with a little black Ribband; which a little before he had reach'd to the Executioner, putting up his Hands to him for that purpose : All which being ended, both Corps and high Gibbet were from thence removed.

The Execution of the Lord AUDLEY, May 14, 1631.

M*Ervin, Lord Audley, Earl of Castlehaven,* having, the 25th of *April, 1631,* receiv'd Sentence of Death, a Warrant was issu'd for his Execution upon *Saturday* the 14th of *May* following; Notice whereof was given him, and his Coffin carried into the *Tower* about a Week before, that he might the better prepare himself for Death: The Dean of *Paul's*, Doctor *Winerfe*, failed not daily to visit him, and to see how he stood, and to settle him in his Religion.

Being brought to the Scaffold, attended by the Dean of *Pauls* and Dr. *Wickham*, together with his Servants, he saluted the noble Personages, and whole Assembly, shewing to them all a very noble, manly and chearful Countenance, such as seemed no ways daunted with the fear of Death. After a short while shewing himself to the People, he addressed himself to Prayer, the Deans accompanying him in that Exercise, but somewhat apart; which being not long, he stood upon his Legs, and leaned upon the two Deans, conferring with them. Then he turned to the Lords, and spake to this Effect:

“ I acknowledge with Thankfulness the great
 “ Goodness of Almighty God, that it hath plea-
 “ sed his Divine Majesty to bestow on me many
 “ Endowments, as Honour, Riches, and the like,
 “ which I have mispent; having been a vicious
 “ Liver, and justly deserved Death, for as much,
 “ and in that the least Sin at God's Hands justly
 “ deserveth Death, and no less; but for the two hei-
 “ nous Crimes with which I am branded, con-
 “ demned, and here to suffer for, I do here deny
 “ them upon my Death, freely forgiving those
 “ that have accused me, and have been the Oc-
 “ casion

“ cation of my Death, even as freely as I my self
 “ do desire Forgiveness at God’s Hands, which I
 “ hope to obtain thro’ his infinite Goodness and
 “ Mercy : and somewhat the rather, by your
 “ Christian Prayers, which I expect, and humbly
 “ beg of your Lordships and this whole Assem-
 “ bly. Now for as much as there hath been
 “ Speech and Rumour of my Unsettledness in my
 “ Religion, I have, for Explanation thereof, not
 “ only made Confession of my Faith to those two
 “ worthy Doctors, but for better Satisfaction to the
 “ World in that Point, express’d the same in Wri-
 “ ting under my Hand signed ; which as it is here
 “ set down, I desire may be publickly read.

The Confession of his Faith then was read by
 a young Gentleman, with a loud Voice, wherein
 he professes he dies in the Faith of the Church of
England.

After which he proceeded : “ I acknowledge
 “ the great Justice and Mercy of the King’s Ma-
 “ jesty ; his Justice in bringing me to the Bar ;
 “ and his Mercy in affording me such a Noble and
 “ Gracious Tryal here ; and I give his Majesty
 “ humble and hearty Thanks for assigning my
 “ Death to be in this Manner, contrary to the
 “ Sentence pronounced against me at my Arraign-
 “ ment : But there is a greater Favour than this,
 “ for which I am to render Thanks unto his Sa-
 “ cred Majesty, and that is, the long time I have
 “ had to repent in ; whereof (praised be Almighty
 “ God) I can speak with Comfort, I have made
 “ good Use, and am now fully prepared for Death,
 “ and much the better, by the good Help and In-
 “ struction of these two worthy Men, to whom I
 “ acknowledge my self bounden, and do here, be-
 “ fore you all, give them hearty Thanks for their
 “ great Pains taken in coming to me, praying for
 “ me, and preaching and reading to me.

“ And

“ And I desire your Lordships to present my
 “ humble Acknowledgment to his Majesty, for
 “ his Goodness in sending them to me, and my
 “ Thanks for the same.

“ I do also from my Heart desire and beseech
 “ Almighty God to bless the King’s Majesty, the
 “ Queen, and the young Prince, together with
 “ all such other Issue as he shall hereafter in Mer-
 “ cy bestow on them, and the whole State ; and
 “ my Trust and Desire is there may be ever one
 “ of their Line to sway the Scepter of these King-
 “ doms to the World’s end.

“ And I beseech, and do heartily pray for the
 “ Welfare and happy Prosperity of the King and
 “ Queen of *Bohemia*, with all their Princely Issue.
 “ I do again desire your Lordships to make Ten-
 “ der of my humble Acknowledgment of his Mer-
 “ cy and Goodness.

“ And now lastly, That you will not bend your
 “ Eyes so much upon me, as your Hands and
 “ Hearts to Heaven in Prayers for me ; and so I
 “ take my last Farewel of your Lordships and the
 “ World.

Then he went again to his private Prayers ;
 which being done, he prepar’d himself for Death,
 striving to shew the like Courage and Magnani-
 mity which he had formerly done, unto the last ;
 but Sight of the Headsman (whom yet he freely
 forgave, and took him by the Hand, bidding him
 do his Office manfully) together with the Appre-
 hension of his near approaching End, made him
 somewhat to change Colour, and shew some Signs
 of trembling Passion ; for his Hands shook a little
 in undoing his Band-strings ; which his Man per-
 ceiving, stept to him and helpt him, as also off
 with his Doublet. Then taking leave again of
 the Lords, the Doctors, and his Man, saying a
 very short Prayer by himself, he pulled down his
 Hand-

Handkerchief over his Face, and laid his Head upon the Block ; which was taken off at one Blow.

The Execution of FITZPATRICK and BROADWAY, the Lord AUDLEY's Servants.

ON Wednesday, the 6th of July, 1631, they were brought to Tyburn ; where, when the Executioner had ty'd the Halter about *Fitzpatrick's* Neck, he said :

“ Forasmuch as I am here, and, as it were, upon the Instant to suffer Death, I desire all loving Subjects and Members of the Church of Rome to pray for me. *Then he proceeded to pray to our Saviour, his Mother, and the Saints ; in which he was interrupted by some Gentlemen, who told him, that the Beginning of his Prayer was good, for that he offer'd it to Christ Jesus, in whom only Salvation is to be found ; as for the Virgin Mary, and the Saints, they could do him no good. But notwithstanding he persisted, saying, “ O yes, the blessed Virgin never forsook or fail'd any that trusted in, or call'd upon her ; and therefore he would depend upon her and the rest of the Saints, and so proceeded to an Exhortation to Mr. Broadway, to cleave to the same Opinion, and die in the Romish Faith ; for which to have him do, he said, if he had it, he would give the whole World. Unto which Motion Broadway gave no Answer, or seem'd not to regard it. “ Then he proceeded to shew how he had been examin'd by my Lord Chief Justice, touching the Corruptness of my Lord of Castlehaven's Life, wherein he said he confess'd nothing to prejudice the said Earl. “ That being within three Days after sent for before the Lords of the Council, my Lord Dorset had intrap'd and ensnar'd him to his Destruction ;*

“struction ; for saying upon his Honour, and
 “speaking it in the Plural Number (as the
 “Mouth of the whole Board) that whatso-
 “ever he deliver’d should no ways prejudice him-
 “self ; he thereby got him to declare the Earl
 “guilty of the Sin of Buggery ; wherein himself
 “being a Party, was the only Cause he came
 “now to suffer Death ; for which his Lordship’s
 “Skill and Policy in sitting him, together with a
 “Dispensation of his Promise and Oath, he free-
 “ly forgave him ; saying further, the said Lord
 “had done him no Wrong, because he therein
 “was but an Instrument to send him out of this
 “World into a better. Then he demanded of the
 “Company if the Earl deny’d the Sin at his
 “Death ; and wish’d my Lord had not (if he
 “did) for it was too true ; his Lordship had both
 “bugger’d him, and he his Lordship. That it
 “was true (for some private Discontentment) he
 “bore a little Malice to the Earl and *Skipwith*,
 “for which he ask’d God Forgiveness. That for
 “*Brodway*, if he had done any thing to the Coun-
 “tess, he did it not out of his own ill corrupt
 “Nature, but was provok’d and perswaded to it by
 “the Earl.

“He clear’d the young Lord, as never being
 “any Occasion or Means of his Father’s Death,
 “in hiring, or perswading him to give Evidence,
 “as he had done. He confess’d he had liv’d an
 “ill Life, in that he had delighted in Drinking,
 “Whoring, and all manner of Uncleanness ; but
 “now, as he was heartily sorry, so he doubted
 “not of Mercy of Almighty God, to pardon and
 “forgive him all his Sins, thro’ and for the Merits
 “and Mediations-sake of *Christ Jesus*, the blessed
 “Virgin, and the Saints in Heaven.

{ That

“ That he had fallen or run into these Sins,
 “ (and especially that which he came to die for)
 “ by reason he had neglected, and not so duly, as
 “ he should have done, repair’d to his Ghostly
 “ Father, to make Confession, and take Instruc-
 “ tions from him. That after he did make Con-
 “ fession, and his Sins known to the Priest, he was
 “ not only sorry for them, but also resolv’d never
 “ to come into my Lord’s House again ; but it
 “ was thro’ Frailty, and because he was not fur-
 “ nish’d of another Place.

So turning again to Mr. *Brodway*, and persua-
 ding him to embrace the *Romish* Faith, wherein,
 as he perceiv’d, his Labour was in vain, so the She-
 riff and other Persons of Quality willed him to
 forbear, and shut up his Discourse, unless he had
 any thing more to say to the purpose. Whereup-
 on, praying for the King, Queen and State, he
 betook himself to private Prayer, and therein for
 the most part continu’d to his Death.

Mr. *Brodway* came, (and as it was thought by
 the Company, a true Penitent) and after fetch-
 ing a deep Sigh at the Sight of the Tree, he lifted
 up his Eyes and Hands towards Heaven, making
 and saying to himself two short Prayers ; so at-
 tending *Fitzpatrick’s* Discourse, he sate in private
 Meditation, often making it manifest he was in
 Prayer most of the time, and also rejoicing at the
 Assembly’s well wishing of him ; for which he re-
 turn’d Smiles and Thanks. His Time being come
 to stand up, and have the Halter put about his
 Neck, and so declare himself, he willingly suffer’d
 the one, and proceeded to the other. First ask-
 ing *Fitzpatrick* if he had done, he pull’d a Sheet
 of Paper out of his Pocket ; which being writ
 broadways, he could not spread it to read, there-
 fore desir’d to have his Hands untty’d ; which was
 done,

done, and he read it distinctly to the Assembly ; the Effect whereof was, to declare himself guilty, in the Sight of Almighty God, of Death and Damnation ; for that he had broke all the Commandments, in Thought, Word, and Deed, and sin'd in Pride of Life, Lust of the Eye, Conceit of his own Beauty, matchless Strength, and other natural Gifts, in Desire of Revenge, not pitying the Poor, unlawful Riches, not repairing to Sermons, not observing the Sabbath, &c. For all which and other his Sins whatsoever, he both desir'd of, and trusted in God for Pardon, and that thro' and for the only Merits of our Saviour Christ Jesus, his bitter Death and Passion. He express'd a strong Assurance, which his very Soul had, of Forgiveness, in that, thro' the Assistance of the Holy Ghost, he had laid such Hold on Christ as he had done. This Paper-writing contain'd his Confession and Prayer ; also (as I remember) something of his slender Guiltiness and Desert of Death, but not so much. Then delivering that to the Sheriff, he open'd a little Book, entitled, *Learn to die*, and desir'd the Company to join with him ; so reading over three short Prayers, the last whereof was compos'd only of Confession, and for Pardon, which Prayer he pronounc'd with great Comfort, at every *Amen* clapping himself on the Breast ; he clos'd it up, and gave it to his ghostly Father, a Minister and Kinsman of his, who came along with him on Horseback close by the Cart. Then he pull'd out a little Paper, which contain'd an excellent Prayer of his own making ; and when he had read it, and every one join'd with him in the *Amen*, he commended it also to the Sheriff ; and then throwing away his Posy of Flowers, he rous'd up himself, and said to this Effect :

“ Gentle-

“ Gentlemen, Tho’ true it is, what I formerly
 “ have deliver’d touching my Guiltiness and De-
 “ fert of Death, my Meaning was, and is, only
 “ in respect of my Sins towards God, and no fur-
 “ ther for Breach of the Laws of the Kingdom;
 “ than only lying once with the Lady *Castlehaven*;
 “ thro’ Persuasion of the Earl, who was then in
 “ Bed with her; and using some small Force for
 “ the purpose, I did emit, but not penetrate her
 “ Body. I came not to my Lord with a
 “ Desire or Intent any Ways to serve him;
 “ but was rather inclin’d for the Sea, only Mr.
 “ *Skipwith* had drawn me thither for Society-sake,
 “ and not hearing from my Friends concerning
 “ my intended Voyage, and being more kindly
 “ respected by the Earl than I look’d for, I staid
 “ from Week to Week, and Month to Month,
 “ contrary to my Intention. Then my Lord,
 “ making me his Bed-fellow, did one Day, when
 “ *Skipwith* was with him in the Garden, (but walk-
 “ ing somewhat apart) break out in Speeches to
 “ me to this Purpose: *Brodway*, thou art young,
 “ lusty, and well-favour’d, and therefore canst not
 “ but prevail with any Woman thou attemptest;
 “ wherefore for that I am old, and cannot live
 “ long, my Wife wholly delighting in Lust, which
 “ I am neither able nor willing to satisfy, thou
 “ may’st do well to lie with her; and so pleasing
 “ her, after my Death marry her, and thereby
 “ raise thy Fortune. *Fitzpatrick* knows my Lord
 “ had solicited me again and again, hearing him
 “ use this Language when we have been in Bed
 “ together, and he lying at the Bed’s Feet. Which
 “ to clear, he charg’d *Fitzpatrick* to speak his
 “ Knowledge; who reply’d, *’Twas true*. Then
 he was ask’d by one of the Lords, *Whether, when*
my Lord solicited him, my Lady desir’d to have him know
her carnally? “ To which he said, No, he would
 “ not.

“ not wrong her, tho’ she hated him infinitely. But,
 “ said he, I know well, if I were minded, and able
 “ to proffer, she would not say nay ; for Mr. Skip-
 “ with and Amptill lay with her commonly.

“ He added, that *Skipwith* confessed to him,
 “ he had often known her, and gotten a Child upon
 “ her, which she, like a wicked Woman, had made
 “ away, which was the only and sole Occasion he
 “ the said *Skipwith* now hated her, and therefore had
 “ turned to the young Lady *Audley* ; all which he
 “ presum’d *Skipwith* would confess upon his Oath.
 “ That the Countess was the wickedest Woman in
 “ the World, and had more to answer for, than
 “ any Woman that lived, as he thought. *At which*
Words, that Lord which ask’d him the former Question,
said, Grow not into a Passion, Mr. *Brodway*, and
 speak nothing for Malice. *He answer’d,* “ God
 “ forbid I should, I am in Charity with all living
 “ People, and do as freely forgive my Lady *Castle-*
haven, as I do desire God to forgive me ; but
 “ what I speak, is true, as I shall presently an-
 “ swer before him that redeem’d me, and the Ho-
 “ ly Ghost who sanctify’d me : To whom be all
 “ Honour and Glory, now and for evermore.
 “ Amen.

“ Then he proceeded further, and said, That
 “ my Lord would have had him done it long be-
 “ fore ; for one Night coming to him to his Bed-
 “ side, he caught him, and bid him come to Bed
 “ to him and his Wife ; that thereupon he made
 “ to him as if he would ; but being got from
 “ him, departed the Chamber, never intending
 “ to do so foul a Deed ; and that for the Reasons
 “ afore said he hated her of all Women living.
 “ Howbeit, that one time, satisfying my Lord’s
 “ Desire, he came to Bed to them, where (being
 “ gratify’d) Nature provok’d him to a kind of
 “ Desire, and he emitted, but did not enter her
 “ Body,

“ Body, as he hop’d for Salvation ; that he never
 “ knew any Woman carnally whilst he liv’d in my
 “ Lord’s House.

“ That it was not his Intentions to bring to
 “ Light either my Lord’s or my Lady’s Shame ;
 “ but that when he was upon his Oath he could
 “ not but speak the Truth ; his Nature being ne-
 “ ver prone to Lying ; or if it were in his Youth,
 “ the good Correction of his Parents had wean’d
 “ him from it, saying, that his Mother had often
 “ told him the old Proverb, *A Liar is worse than a*
 “ *Thief* ; and he thought he had more Stripes for
 “ that than all Faults else whatsoever ; that he had,
 “ as he hoped, spoke nothing of Moment against
 “ my Lord at his Arraignment ; he could not now
 “ remember every thing ; if he had, he desir’d Par-
 “ don. And so concluding his Speech, prepar’d
 himself for Death ; pulling out a lac’d Handkerchief,
 he desir’d the Executioner to tie it about his Head.
 Then pulling off his Garters, and unbuttoning his
 Doublet, Mr. Goodcoale, the Minister, ask’d him,
if he would not have a Psalm. He said Yes, *with all my*
Heart. Then he read the 143d Psalm ; which Mr.
 Broadway, pulling up the Handkerchief, sung very
 chearfully, never changing Colour at all. The Mi-
 nister desir’d him to make Confession of his Faith ;
 so he pronounc’d aloud the *Belief*.

Mr. Goodcoale said, *these are the Articles of the*
Christian Faith, according to the Church of England,
into which Faith you was baptiz’d ; pray signify whe-
ther in that Faith you intend to die ? “ He said Yes ;
 “ for there is no other Faith (as I suppose) in
 “ and by which a Man can be sav’d. Then he
 “ made Request to the Sheriffs, and those of
 “ his Kindred there, that he might be bury’d
 “ in his own Country. It was then told him, *that it*
was granted, and Order taken to have it so, wherefore
he should now mind his Prayers. When his Kinsman
 † ask’d

ask'd him, *if he had never another Prayer in his Pocket?* He said, *No.* Then ask'd Mr. Goodcoale, *If he would say after him?* And he said, *Yes, with all my Heart; but first he desir'd the Executioner to tie his Hands again.* Which being done, Mr. Goodcoale said a short Prayer to recommend his Soul and Body to Almighty God, in and for the Merits of Christ's Death and Passion: To which Brodway and the People said *Amen.* Then lifting up his Hands to Heaven, he said, *Lord Jesus receive my Spirit,* and the Cart was drawn away.

Fitzpatrick beheld him hanging, and lifting up his Hands, and commending himself to God, was executed in like manner.

CHARACTER of PRYN, and his Fellow-Sufferers.

THERE were three Persons, says my Lord Clarendon, most notorious for their declared Malice against the Government of the Church by Bishops, in their several Books and Writings which they had publish'd to corrupt the People, with Circumstances very scandalous, and in Language very scurrilous and impudent, which all Men thought deserv'd very exemplary Punishment. They were of the three several Professions which had the most Influence upon the People, a Divine, a Common Lawyer, and a Doctor of Physick; none of them of Interest or any Esteem with the worthy Part of their several Professions, having been formerly all look'd upon under Characters of Reproach: Yet when they were all sentenc'd, and for the Execution of that Sentence brought out to be punish'd as common and signal Rogues, expos'd upon Scaffolds to have their Ears cut off,

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and

and their Faces and Foreheads branded with hot Irons (as the poorest and most mechanick Malefactors us'd to be, when they were not able to redeem themselves by any Fine for their Trespasses, or to satisfy any Damages for the Scandals they had rais'd against the good Name or Reputation of others) Men begun no more to consider their Manners; but the Men, and each Profession with Anger and Indignation enough thought their Education and Degrees, and Quality, would have secur'd them from such infamous Judgments, and treasur'd up Wrath for the time to come. *Clar. Vol. I. p. 94.*

Page 199. His Lordship says of *Pryn*: He was not unlearned in his Profession of the Law, as far as Learning is acquir'd by the mere reading of Books; but being a Person of great Industry, had spent more time in reading Divinity; and, which mar'd that Divinity, in the Conversation of factious and hot-headed Divines: And so by a Mixture of all three, with the Rudeness and Arrogance of his own Nature, had contracted a proud and venomous Dislike of the Discipline of the Church of *England*; and so by degrees (as the Progress is very natural) an equal Irreverence for the Government of the State too: Both which he vented in several absurd, petulant and supercilious Discourses in Print.

Dr. Nalson, Vol. I. p. 798. observes, that *Pryn* liv'd to see himself and the Presbyterian Party, of which he was a most zealous Champion, recompens'd with Ignominy and Contempt: And adds, that he heard a familiar Acquaintance of *Mr. Pryn*'s aver, that he was so sensible both of the Folly and Mischief of those youthful and injudicious Essays of his unfortunate Pen, which were rather the Results of Prejudice and Revenge, than Law or Reason; that he has heard *Mr. Pryn* say,

That

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That

That if the King had cut off his Head when he only cropt his Ears, he had done no more than Justice, and done God and the Nation good Service.

The Execution of the Earl of STRAFFORD, Wednesday May 12, 1641.

HAVING mounted the Scaffold, he made his Obeisances, and began to take his last Farewel of his Friends, who appear'd much more concern'd than himself; and observing his Brother, Sir *George Wentworth*, to weep excessively: Brother (said he) with a chearful Briskness, What do you see in me to deserve these Tears? Doth any indecent Fear betray in me a Guilt, or my innocent Boldness any Atheism? Think now that you are accompanying me the third time to my Marriage-Bed: Never did I throw off my Cloaths with greater Freedom and Content than in this Preparation to my Grave: That Stock [pointing to the Block] must be my Pillow, here shall I rest from all my Labours: No Thoughts of Envy, no Dreams of Treason, Jealousies or Cares for the King, the State, or my self, shall interrupt this easy Sleep; therefore, Brother, with me pity those who besides their Intention have made me happy, rejoice in my Happiness, rejoice in my Innocence.

Then kneeling down, he made this Protestation: I hope, Gentlemen, you do think that neither the Fear of Loss, nor Love of Reputation, will suffer me to belie God and my own Conscience at this time. I am now in the very Door going out, and my next Step must be from Time to Eternity either of Peace or Pain: To clear my self before you all, I do here solemnly call God to witness I am not guilty, so far as I can understand, of the great Crime laid to my Charge, nor have ever

had the least Inclination or Intention to damnify or prejudice the King, the State, the Laws, or the Religion of this Kingdom ; but with my best Endeavours to serve all, and to support all, *so may God be merciful to my Soul.*

Then rising up, he said he desir'd to speak something to the People, but was afraid he should be heard by few, in regard of the Noise ; but having first fitted himself to the Block, and rising again, he thus address'd himself to the Spectators.

His S P E E C H.

MY Lord Primate of *Ireland*, and my Lords, and the rest of these noble Gentlemen : It is a great Comfort to me to have your Lordships by me this Day, because I have been known to you a long time, and I now desire to be heard a few Words. I come here, by the good Will and Pleasure of Almighty God, to pay that last Debt I owe to Sin, which is Death ; and by the Blessing of that God, to rise again thro' the Merits of Jesus Christ to Righteousness, and Life Eternal. [Here he was a little interrupted,]

My Lords, I am come hither to submit to that Judgment which hath passed against me, I do it with a very quiet and contented Mind ; I thank God I do freely forgive all the World ; a Forgiveness that is not spoken from the Teeth outward, (as they say) but from the very Heart : I speak it in the Presence of Almighty God, before whom I stand, that there is not a displeasing Thought arising in me towards any Man living. I thank God I can say it, and truly too, my Conscience bearing me witness, that in all my Employments, since I had the Honour to serve his Majesty, I never had any thing in the Purpose of my Heart, but what tended to the joint and individual

dual Prosperity of King and People, altho' it hath been my ill Fortune to be misconstrued.

I am not the first that hath suffer'd in this kind ; it is the common Portion of us all, while we are in this Life, to err ; righteous Judgment we must wait for in another Place, for here we are very subject to be misjudged one of another ; there is one thing that I desire to free my self of, and I am very confident [speaking it now with much Chearfulness] that I shall obtain your Christian Charity in the Belief of it. I was so far from being against Parliaments, that I did always think the Parliaments of *England* were the most happy Constitutions that any Kingdom or Nation lived under, and the best Means under God to make the King and People happy.

For my Death I here acquit all the World, and beseech the God of Heaven heartily to forgive them that contrived it, tho' in the Intentions and Purposes of my Heart I am not guilty of what I die for : And, my Lord Primate, it is a great Comfort for me, that his Majesty conceives me not meriting so severe and heavy a Punishment, as is the utmost Execution of this Sentence. I do infinitely rejoice in this Mercy of his, and I beseech God to return it into his own Bosom, that he may find Mercy when he stands most in need of it.

I wish this Kingdom all the Prosperity and Happiness in the World ; I did it living, and now dying it is my Wish. I do most humbly recommend this to every one who hears me, and desire they would lay their Hands upon their Hearts, and consider seriously, whether the Beginning of the Happiness and Reformation of a Kingdom should be written in Letters of Blood ; consider this when you are at your Homes, and let me be never so unhappy, as that the least Drop of my Blood

should rise up in Judgment against any one of you; but I fear you are in a wrong Way.

My Lords, I have but one Word more, and with that I shall end. I profess that I die a true and obedient Son to the Church of *England*, wherein I was born, and in which I was bred, Peace and Prosperity be ever to it.

It hath been objected (if it were an Objection worth the answering) that I have been inclined to Popery; but I say truly from my Heart, that from the time that I was one and twenty Years of Age, to this present, going now upon forty-nine, I never had in my Heart to doubt of this Religion of the Church of *England*, nor ever had any Man the Boldness to suggest any such thing to me; to the best of my Remembrance. And so being reconciled by the Merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour, into whose Bosom I hope I shall shortly be gathered, to those eternal Happinesses which shall never have end; I desire heartily the Forgiveness of every Man for any rash or unadvised Words, or any thing done amiss. And so, my Lords and Gentlemen, farewell; farewell all things of this World.

I desire that you would be silent, and join with me in Prayer, and I trust in God we shall all meet and live eternally in Heaven, there to receive the Accomplishment of all Happiness; where every Tear shall be wiped away from our Eyes, and every sad Thought from our Hearts; and so God bless this Kingdom, and Jesus have Mercy on my Soul.

Then turning himself about, he saluted all the Noblemen, and took a solemn Leave of all considerable Persons upon the Scaffold, giving them his Hand.

After

After that, he said, Gentlemen, I would say my Prayers, and entreat you all to pray with me, and for me; then his Chaplain laid the Book of *Common-Prayer* upon the Chair before him as he kneeled down, on which he Prayed almost a Quarter of an Hour, and then as long, or longer, without the Book, and concluded with the *Lord's Prayer*.

Standing up, he spies his Brother, *Sir George Wentworth*, and calls him to him, saying, Brother, we must part; remember me to my Sister, and to my Wife, and carry my Blessing to my Son, and charge him that he fear God, and continue an obedient Son to the Church of *England*, and warn him that he bear no private Grudge, or Revenge, toward any Man concerning me; and bid him beware that he meddle not with Church-livings, for that will prove a Moth and Canker to him in his Estate; and wish him to content himself to be a Servant to his Country, not aiming at higher Preferments.

Aliter.] To his Son *Mr. Wentworth* he commends himself, and gives him charge to serve his God, to submit to his King with all Faith and Allegiance in things temporal, to the Church in things spiritual; chargeth him again and again, as he will answer it to him in Heaven, never to meddle with the Patrimony of the Church; for if he did, it would be a Canker to eat up the rest of his Estate.

Carry my Blessing also to my Daughters, *Anne* and *Arabella*, charge them to serve and fear God, and he will bless them; not forgetting my little Infant, who yet knows neither Good nor Evil, and cannot speak for it self; God speak for it and bless it. Now, said he, I have nigh done; one Stroke will make my Wife husbandless, my dear Children fatherless, and my poor Servants masterless, and will separate me from my dear Brother,

and all my Friends ; but let God be to you and them all in all.

After this, going to take off his Doublet, and to make himself unready, he said, I thank God I am not afraid of Death, nor daunted with any Discouragement rising from any Fears, but do as chearfully put off my Doublet at this time, as ever I did when I went to Bed ; then he put off his Doublet, wound up his Hair with his Hands, and put on a white Cap.

Then he called, Where is the Man that is to do this last Office ? [meaning the Executioner] call him to me ; when he came and ask'd him Forgiveness, he told him, he forgave him and all the World. Then kneeling down by the Block, he went to Prayer again himself, the Primate of *Ireland* kneeling on the one Side, and the Minister on the other : To the which Minister, after Prayer, he turned himself, and spake some few Words softly, having his Hands lifted up, and closed with the Minister's Hands.

Then bowing himself to lay his Head upon the Block, he told the Executioner, That he would first lay down his Head to try the Fitness of the Block, and take it up again before he would lay it down for good and all ; and so he did : And before he laid it down again, he told the Executioner, That he would give him Warning when to strike by stretching forth his Hands ; and presently laying down his Neck upon the Block, and stretching forth his Hands, the Executioner struck off his Head at one Blow ; and taking it up in his Hand, shewed it to all the People, and said, *God save the King.*

His Body was afterwards embalmed, and appointed to be carried into *Yorkshire*, there to be buried amongst his Ancestors.

He left these three Instructions for his Son in Writing.

First, That he should continue still to be brought up under those Governors to whom he had committed him ; as being the best he could pick out of all those within his Knowledge, and that he should not change them, unless they were weary of him ; that he should rather want himself, than they should want any thing they could desire.

Secondly, He charged him, as he would answer it at the last Day, not to put himself upon any publick Employments till he was thirty Years of Age at least ; and then if his Prince should call him to publick Service, he should carefully undertake it, to testify his Obedience ; and withal to be faithful and sincere to his Master, tho' he should come to the same End that himself did.

Thirdly, That he should never lay any Hand upon any thing that belonged to the Church. He foresaw that Ruin was like to come upon the Revenues of the Church, and that perhaps they might be shared amongst the Nobility and Gentry : But charg'd him not to meddle with them, for the Curse of God would follow those who meddled with such things.

The Earl of STRAFFORD'S Letter to his MAJESTY.

I*T hath been my greatest Grief in all my Troubles, to be taken as a Person that should endeavour to present and set things amiss between your Majesty and your People, and to have given Counsel tending to the Disquiet of your Majesty and your three Kingdoms.*

Most true it is, that such an Attempt (my private Condition consider'd) had been a great Madness, seeing,
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thro' your gracious Favour, I was so provided, as I could not expect in any kind to mend my Fortune, or to please my Mind, more than by resting where your bounteous Hand had placed me ; nay, the Business is most mightily mistaken ; for unto your Majesty it is well known, that my poor and humble Advices concluded still in this, That your Majesty should never be happy, till there were a right Understanding procured betwixt you and them : No other Means to effect and settle this Happiness, but by the Counsel and Assent of the Parliament ; and no way to prevent the growing Evils of this State, but by putting your self entirely upon the Loyalty and good Affection of your Subjects.

Yet (such is my Misfortune) the Truth finds little Credit, the contrary (it seems) generally believ'd, and myself reputed the Cause of this great Separation betwixt you and your People : Under a heavier Censure than this, I am persuaded no Gentleman can suffer, and now I understand that the Minds of Men are the more incensed against me, notwithstanding your Majesty hath declared, That in your Princely Opinion I am not guilty of Treason, nor are you satisfied in Conscience to pass the Bill. This brings me into a great Streight. Here is before me the Ruin of my Children and Family, hitherto untouch'd in all the Branches of it with any foul Crime. Here are before me the many Evils which may befall your sacred Person, and the whole Kingdom, should your self and the Parliament be less satisfied the one with the other than is necessary for the King and People. Here are before me the things most valued, most feared by mortal Men, Life and Death : To say, Sir, there hath not been a Conflict within me about these things, were to make my self less Man than (God knows) my Infirmities will give me leave ; and to call a Destruction upon my self, and my young Children, where the Intentions (at least) of my Heart have been innocent of this great Offence, (may be believed) would find no easy Consent from Flesh and Blood.

But, out of much Sadness, I am come to a Resolution of that which I take to be best becoming me, that is,

To

To look upon that which is principally to be consider'd in itself, and that is doubtless the Prosperity of your sacred Person and the Commonwealth, infinitely to be preferred before any Man's private Interest : And therefore, in few Words, as I have put my self wholly upon the Honour and Justice of my Peers, and so clearly as I wish your Majesty had been pleas'd to have spared that Declaration of yours on Saturday last, and to have left me entirely to their Lordships ; so now (to set your Majesty's Conscience at Liberty) I do most humbly beseech you, for the preventing of such Mischiefs as may happen by your Refusal to pass the Bill ; by this Means to remove (praised be God I cannot say this accursed, but I confess) this unfortunate thing forth of the way towards that blessed Agreement, which God, I trust, shall for ever establish betwixt you and your Subjects. Sir, my Consent herein shall acquit you more to God, than all the World can do beside. To a willing Man there is no Injury done, and as by God's Grace I forgive all the World, with a Calmness and Meekness of infinite Contentment to my dislodging Soul ; so, Sir, I can give the Life of this World with all Chearfulness imaginable, in the just Acknowledgment of your exceeding Favours, and only beg, that in your Goodness you would vouchsafe to cast your gracious Regard upon my poor Son and his three Sisters, less or more, and no otherwise, than their unfortunate Father shall appear more or less guilty of this Death. God preserve your Majesty.

Your Majesty's most Humble,

And Faithful Subject and Servant,

Tower, May 9.

STRAFFORD.

1641.

His

His F A M I L Y.

Thomas, Earl of *Strafford*, was Son and Heir to Sir *William Wentworth*, of *Wentworth-Woodhouse* in *Yorkshire*, Bart. He was call'd to the Privy-Council by King *Charles I.* and by Letters Patents, dated the 22d of *July*, in the 4th Year of his Reign, advanced to the Title of Baron *Wentworth*, of *Wentworth-Woodhouse*. The 10th of *December* following he was made Viscount *Wentworth*, and constituted Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and on the 12th of *January* he had the Title of Baron *Raby* conferred upon him, being descended from that great Family of *Nevil*, some time Lords of that Place, and was made Earl of *Strafford*: And lastly, he was elected into the Society of the Knights Companions of the most noble Order of the Garter. *Coll. Hist. Dict.*

N A L S O N ' S C H A R A C T E R of the Lord
S T R A F F O R D.

Dr. *Nalson* gives us this Account of the Lord *Strafford's* Rise: He says, the King's Necessities being great, the way of raising Money by Loan was put in Practice, and among others a Privy-Seal was sent to Sir *Thomas Wentworth* for 40 l. which he declin'd the Payment of, as intrenching on the Subjects Property; whereupon he was confin'd, as were several other Gentlemen upon the same Occasion, by which he became exceeding popular, and was look'd upon as a Confessor for the Liberty and Property of the People; and in the following Parliament, whereof he was a Member, and in which he began to display his great Parts, he was much taken notice of, and observ'd even by the Court as a Person of uncommon Abilities,
and

and the gaining him to the King's Interest was by those who manag'd the publick Affairs thought much for the Advancement of the King's Interest and Service. [Here Mr. *Nelson* takes occasion to observe how unsuccessful this Procedure of gaining Men of Ability by Preferments and Honours prov'd to the King's Interest; for the King had no sooner remov'd one, but another rose in his Place, hoping to ascend by the same Steps.]

Among the rest of his Honours he observes the Title of *Raby* prov'd fatal to him, being an Honour to which Sir *Harry Vane*, who was possess'd of the Castle of *Raby*, had some Pretensions, and was not a little ambitious of: Sir *Harry* was so stung with the Disappointment, and so thirsty of Revenge, that tho' he warily smother'd his Resentments, he was ever after an Enemy to the Earl, and for his sake, to his Majesty: He at length satiated his private Revenge, under Pretence of publick Justice; and when in all Likelihood the Earl would have escaped the Prosecution of his Adversaries, he produc'd that fatal Scrip of Paper, of which Mention is made in his Tryal, which had so long lain dormant (or rather which was newly framed) upon which the Bill of Attainder was founded.

My Lord *Clarendon* gives him the following Character.

HIS CHARACTER by CLARENDON.

He was (says he) a Man of too high and severe a Deportment, and too great a Contemner of Ceremony to have many Friends at Court, and therefore could not but have Enemies enough. He was a Person of great Parts, and extraordinary Endowments of Nature, not unadorn'd with some Addition of Art and Learning, tho' that again

was

was more improv'd and illustrated by the other ; for he had a readiness of Conception, and sharpness of Expression, which made his Learning thought more than in Truth it was. His first Inclinations and Addresses to the Court were only to establish his Greatness in the Country, where he apprehended some Acts of Power from the Lord *Savile*, who had been his Rival always there, and of late had strengthen'd himself by being made a Privy-Counsellor and Officer at Court : But his first Attempts were so prosperous, that he contented not himself with being secure from that Lord's Power in the Country, but rested not till he had bereav'd his Adversary of all Power and Place in Court, and so sent him down a most abject, disconsolate old Man, to his Country, where he was to have the Superintendency over him too, by getting himself, at this time, made Lord President of the North : These Successes, applied to a Nature too elate and haughty of it self, and a quicker Progress into the greatest Employments and Trust than usual, made him more transported with Disdain of other Men, and more contemning the Forms of Business, than haply he would, if he had met with some Interruptions in the Beginning, and had pass'd in a more leisurely Gradation to the Office of a Statesman. He was a Person of great Observation, and a piercing Judgment, both in Things and Persons ; but his too good Skill in Persons, made him judge the worse of Things, for it was his Misfortune to be in a time when very few wise Men were equally employ'd with him ; and scarce any but the Lord *Coventry* (whose Trust was more confin'd) whose Faculties and Abilities were equal to his : So that upon the Matter he rely'd wholly upon himself ; and discerning many Defects in most Men, he too much neglected what they said or did. Of
all

all his Passions his Pride was most predominant, which a moderate Exercise of ill Fortune might have corrected and reform'd ; and which was by the Hand of Heaven strangely punish'd , by bringing his Destruction upon him by two things, which he most despis'd, *the People, and Sir Harry Vane.* In a Word, the Epitaph which *Plutarch* records, that *Sylla* wrote for himself, may not be unfitly apply'd to him ; *That no Man did ever exceed him, either in doing Good to his Friends, or in doing Mischief to his Enemies,* for his Acts of both kinds were most notorious. *Clar. Vol. I. 150, &c.*

CHARACTER of Mr. HAMPDEN, who was kill'd 1643. See the Tryal between the King and Hampden, the last Tryal in the Octavo Edition of STATE TRYALS.

MR. Hampden was a Man of great Cunning, and it may be of the most discerning Spirit, and of the greatest Address and Insinuation, to bring any thing to pass which he desir'd, of any Man of that time, and who laid the Design deepest. He was a Gentleman of a good Extraction, and a fair Fortune ; who, from a Life of great Pleasure and Licence, had on a sudden retir'd to extraordinary Sobriety and Strictness, and yet retain'd his usual Chearfulness and Affability ; which, together with the Opinion of his Wisdom and Justice, and the Courage he had shown in opposing the Ship-money, rais'd his Reputation to a very great Height, not only in *Buckinghamshire*, where he liv'd, but generally throughout the Kingdom : He was not a Man of many Words, and rarely begun the Discourse, or made the first Entrance upon any Business that was assum'd, but a very weighty Speaker ; and after he had heard a full Debate, and observ'd how the House

Houfe was like to be inclin'd, took up the Argument, and shortly and clearly, and craftily fo stated it, that he commonly conducted it to the Conclusion he defir'd ; and if he found he could not do that, he was never without the Dexterity to divert the Debate to another time, and to prevent the determining any thing in the Negative, which might prove inconvenient in the future. He made fo great a fhew of Civility and Modesty, and Humility, and always of miftrusting his own Judgment, and esteeming his, with whom he confer'd for the present, that he seem'd to have no Opinions or Refolutions, but fuch as he contracted from the Information and Inftitution he received upon the Difcourfes of others ; whom he had a wonderful Art of governing and leading into his Principles and Inclinations, whilft he believ'd they wholly depended upon his Counfel and Advice : No Man had ever a greater Power over himfelf, or was lefs the Man that he seem'd to be, which appear'd to every body, when he cared lefs to keep on the Mask. *Vol. I. 185.*

Mr. *Hampden*, in an Engagement with Prince *Rupert*, was fhoot in the Shoulder with a Brace of Bullets, which brake the Bone, and within three Weeks after he died with extraordinary Pain, to as great a Confternation of all his Party, as if their whole Army had been defeated. *Vol. II. 264.*

Many observ'd, that the Field in which the Skirmish was, and upon which Mr. *Hampden* receiv'd his Death's Wound (*Chalgrave-field*) was the fame Place in which he had firft executed the Ordinance of the Militia, and engag'd that County (in which his Reputation was very great) in this Rebellion ; and it was confefs'd by the Prisoners that were taken that Day, that upon the Alarm that Morning, after their Quarters were beaten up, he was exceeding follicitous to draw
Forces

Forces together to pursue the Enemy ; and being a Colonel of Foot, put himself among those Horse as a Voluntier, who were first ready ; and that when the Prince made a Stand, all the Officers were of Opinion to stay till their Body came up, and he alone (being Second to none but the General himself, in the Observance and Application of all Men) persuaded and prevail'd with them to Advance : So violently did his Fate carry him, to pay the Mulct in the Place where he had committed the Transgression about a Year before.

He was a Gentleman of a good Family in *Buckinghamshire*, and born to a fair Fortune, and of a most civil and affable Deportment. In his Entrance into the World, he indulg'd to himself all the Licence in Sports, and Exercises, and Company, which were us'd by Men of the most jolly Conversation. Afterwards he retir'd to a more reserv'd and melancholy Society ; yet preserving his own natural Chearfulness and Vivacity, and above all, a flowing Courtesy to all Men : Tho' they who convers'd nearly with him, found him growing into a Dislike of the Ecclesiastical Government of the Church, yet most believ'd it rather Dislike of some Churchmen, and of some Introducements of theirs, which he apprehended might disquiet the publick Peace. He was rather of Reputation in his own Country, than of publick Discourse or Fame in the Kingdom, before the Business of Shipmoney : But then he grew the Argument of all Tongues, every Man enquiring who and what he was, that durst at his own Charge support the Liberty and Property of the Kingdom, and rescue his Country, as he thought, from being made a Prey to the Court. His Carriage throughout this Agitation was with that rare Temper and Modesty, that they who watch'd him narrowly

to find some Advantage against his Person, to make him less resolute in his Cause, were compell'd to give him a just Testimony. And the Judgment that was given against him infinitely more advanc'd him, than the Service for which it was given. When the long Parliament begun (being return'd Knight of the Shire for the County where he liv'd) the Eyes of all Men were fix'd upon him, as their *Patriæ Pater*, and the Pilot that must steer the Vessel through the Tempests and Rocks which threatned it. And I am persuaded, his Power and Interest at that time was greater to do Good, or Hurt, than any Man's in the Kingdom, or than any Man of his Rank hath had in any time: For his Reputation of Honesty was universal, and his Affections seem'd so publickly guided, that no corrupt or private Ends could byass them.

He was of that rare Affability and Temper in Debate, and of that seeming Humility and Submission of Judgment, as if he brought no Opinion of his own with him, but a Desire of Information and Instruction; yet he had so subtle a Way of Interrogating, and, under the Notion of Doubts, insinuating his Objections, that he infused his own Opinions into those from whom he pretended to learn and receive them; and even with them who were able to preserve themselves from his Infusions, and discern'd those Opinions to be fix'd in him, with which they could not comply, he always left the Character of an ingenious and conscientious Person. He was indeed a very wise Man, and of great Parts, and possess'd with the most absolute Spirit of Popularity, and the most absolute Faculties to govern the People, of any Man I ever knew. For the first Year of the Parliament, he seem'd rather to moderate and soften the violent and distemper'd Humours, than to inflame

flame them. But wise and dispassion'd Men plainly discern'd that that Moderation proceeded from Prudence, and Observation that the Season was not ripe, rather than that he approv'd of the Moderation; and that he begot many Opinions and Motions, the Education whereof he committed to other Men, so far disguising his own Designs, that he seem'd seldom to wish more than was concluded; and in many gross Conclusions, which would hereafter contribute to Designs not yet set on foot, when he found them sufficiently back'd by Majority of Voices, he would withdraw himself before the Question, that he might seem not to consent to so much visible Unreasonableness; which produc'd as great a Doubt in some, as it did Approbation in others of his Integrity. What Combination soever had been originally with the *Scots* for the Invasion of *England*, and what further was enter'd into afterwards in favour of them, and to advance any Alteration of the Government in Parliament, no Man doubts was at least with the Privity of this Gentleman.

After he was among those Members accus'd by the King of High Treason, he was much alter'd; his Nature and Carriage seeming much fiercer than it did before. And, without Question, when he first drew his Sword, he threw away the Scabbard, for he passionately oppos'd the Overture made by the King for a Treaty from *Nottingham*, and as eminently all Expedients that might have produc'd any Accommodations in this that was at *Oxford*; and was principally relied on to prevent any Infusions which might be made into the Earl of *Essex* towards Peace, or to render them ineffectual if they were made; and was indeed much more relied on by that Party, than the General himself. In the first Entrance into the Troubles, he undertook the Command of a Regiment of

Foot, and perform'd the Duty of a Colonel upon all Occasions most punctually. He was very temperate in Diet, and a supreme Governor over all his Passions and Affections, and had thereby a great Power over other Mens. He was of an Industry and Vigilance not to be tired out, or wearied by the most laborious, and of Parts not to be impos'd upon by the most subtle or sharp, and of a personal Courage equal to his best Parts; so that he was an Enemy not to be wish'd, wherever he might have been made a Friend; and as much to be apprehended where he was so, as any Man could deserve to be, and therefore his Death was no less pleasing to the one Party, than it was condol'd in the other: In a Word, what was said of *Cinna* might well be applied to him. *He had a Head to contrive, and a Tongue to persuade, and a Hand to execute any Mischief.* His Death therefore seem'd to be a great Deliverance to the Nation.

The Execution of Archbishop LAUD, the 10th of January, 1644.

HIS Grace being brought to the Scaffold, erected on *Tower-hill*, made the following Speech:

Good People,

This is an uncomfortable time to preach, yet I shall begin with a Text of Scripture, *Heb. 12. 2.* *Let us run with Patience the Race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus, the Author and Finisher of our Faith; who, for the Joy that was set before him, endur'd the Cross, despising the Shame, and is set down at the right Hand of the Throne of God.*

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I have been long in my Race, and how I have looked unto Jesus, the Author and Finisher of my Faith, he best knows : I am now come to the End of my Race, and here I find the Cross ; a Death of Shame : But the Shame must be despis'd, or no coming to the right Hand of God : Jesus despised the Shame for me, and God forbid but I should despise the Shame for him. I am going apace (as you see) towards the Red Sea, and my Feet are now upon the very Brink of it ; an Argument, I hope, that God is bringing me into the Land of Promise, for that was the Way thro' which he led his People ; but before they came to it, he instituted a Passover for them, a Lamb it was, but must be eaten with four Herbs. I shall obey, and labour to digest the four Herbs as well as the Lamb ; and I shall remember it is the Lord's Passover : I shall not think of the Herbs, nor be angry with the Hand that gathereth them, but look up only unto him who instituted that, and governs these. For Men can have no more Power over me than what is given from above. I am not in love with this Passage thro' the Red Sea, for I have the Weakness and Infirmary of Flesh and Blood plentifully in me, and I have pray'd with my Saviour, *ut transiret Calix iste*, that this Cup of red Wine might pass from me ; but if not, *God's Will, not mine, be done* : And I shall most willingly drink of this Cup as deep as he pleases, and enter into this Sea, yea, and pass thro' it in the Way that he shall lead me ; but I would have it remember'd, good People, that when God's Servants were in this boisterous Sea, and *Aaron* amongst them, the *Egyptians* who persecuted them, and did in a manner drive them into the Sea, were drown'd in the same Waters, while they were in pursuit of them. ----- And as for this People, they are at this Day miserably misled ; God of his

Mercy open their Eyes, that they may see the right Way ; for at this Day the Blind lead the Blind, and if they go on, both will certainly fall into the Ditch. Tho' the Weight of my Sentence be heavy upon me, I am as quiet within as ever I was in my Life. And tho' I am not only the first Archbishop, but the first Man that ever died by an Ordinance in Parliament, yet some of my Predecessors have gone this Way, tho' not by this Means. ---- Here is a great Clamour that I would have brought in Popery : I shall answer that more fully by and by. In the mean time, you know what the *Pharisees* said against Christ himself, If we let him alone, all Men will believe in him, & *venient Romani*, and the *Romans* will come and take away our Place and Nation. Here was a causeless Cry against Christ, that the *Romans* would come : And see how just the Judgment was ; They crucified Christ for fear the *Romans* should come, and his Death was it that brought in the *Romans* upon them : God punishing them with that which they most feared. And I pray God this Clamour of *venient Romani*, for which I have given no Cause, help not to bring them in : For the Pope never had such an Harvest in *England* since the Reformation, as he hath now upon the Sects and Divisions that are among us. ---- This I shall be bold to speak of the King, our Gracious Sovereign : He hath been much traduced also for bringing in Popery, but in my Conscience (of which I shall give God a very present Account) I know him to be as free from the Charge as any Man living, and I hold him to be as sound a Protestant (according to the Religion by Law establish'd) as any Man in this Kingdom, and that he will venture his Life as far, and as freely, for it. And I think I do, or should, know both his Affection to Religion, and his Grounds for it, as

fully

fully as any Man in *England*. ----- I have been accus'd as an Enemy to Parliaments. No ! I understand them, and the Benefit that comes by them, too well to be so ; but I did mislike the Misgovernments of some Parliaments many Ways, and I had good Reason for it, for *Corruptio optimi est pessima*. There is no Corruption in the World so bad as that which is of the best thing within itself ; for the better the thing is in Nature, the worse it is corrupted. And that being the highest Court, over which no other hath Jurisdiction ; when it is misinform'd, or misgovern'd, the Subject is left without all Remedy : But I have done. I forgive all the World, all and every of those bitter Enemies which have persecuted me, and humbly desire to be forgiven of God first, and then of every Man, whether I have offended him or not, if he do but conceive that I have : Lord do thou forgive me, and I beg Forgiveness of him ; and so I heartily desire you to join in Prayers with me.

Having ended his Prayers, and finding the Scaffold crowded, he desir'd they would give him room to die, that he might have an End of the Miseries he had so long endur'd ; and coming near the Block, he said, *God's Will be done*. I am willing to go out of the World, none can be more willing to send me ; and perceiving some People under the Scaffold thro' the Boards, he desir'd the Chinks might be stop'd, or the People remov'd, for he did not desire his Blood should fall upon their Heads. Sir John Clotworthy demanded of him, what was the most comfortable saying a dying Man could have in his Mouth : He answer'd, *Cupio dissolvi & esse cum Christo*. Sir John still press'd him with several impertinent Questions, to which his Grace answer'd with abundance of Meekness ; and turning to the Executioner, he gave him Money, and said, Here honest Friend, God forgive thee, and

I do, and do thy Office upon me with Mercy. Having made another short Prayer, he laid his Head down upon the Block, and pray'd a little time to himself, after which he said aloud, *Lord receive my Soul*; and this being the Signal, the Executioner immediately sever'd his Head from his Body at one Blow. He was buried after the Manner of the Church of *England*, in the Church of *Allhallows, Barking*; this being the very Day the Liturgy was abolish'd by Ordinance of Parliament, and the Directory set up in the room of it. A Brass Plate was nail'd on his Coffin with this Inscription: *In hac Cistula conduntur Exuviae Gulielmi Laud, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, qui securi percussus Immortalitatem adiit Die x Januarii, Ætatis suæ 73, Archiepiscopatus XII.*

HIS FAMILY, EDUCATION, and PROMOTIONS.

William Laud was born at *Reading* in *Barkshire*, his Father being a principal Burgher of that Town: His Mother's Name was *Web*, Sister to Sir *William Web*, Lord Mayor of *London*. He was admitted Commoner in *St. John's College, Oxon*, and took the Degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1608; and after several other Preferments, was promoted to the Bishoprick of *St. David's* in 1622. In 1626, to that of *Bath and Wells*, and made Dean of *King's-Chappel* the same Year: Two Years after he was translated to the Bishoprick of *London*, and in 1633 was preferred to the See of *Canterbury*. His Zeal for promoting Uniformity in the Church procur'd him many Enemies, which upon the breaking out of the Rebellion grew still more implacable, being further provok'd by the Archbishop's unalterable Loyalty. For these Reasons, in the Beginning of that Revolt in the Reign of King *Charles I.* he was by the Prevalence of the

the Faction committed to the Tower, and afterwards charg'd by the rebellious Parliament with a Design to introduce Popery, and reconcile the Churches of *England* and *Rome*, &c. The King being defeated at *Marston-Moor*, the Rebels thought themselves secure, and proceeded to sentence him to Death, and upon the 10th of *January* 1644, he was murder'd by the Ax on *Tower-hill*, where his Behaviour was compos'd, pious, and well supported. *Col. Hist. Dict.*

His C H A R A C T E R.

He was a Person of a regular Conversation, very charitable, and publick-spirited. His Parts and Industry were both extraordinary, and he was well acquainted with Men as well as Books: By these Advantages he became both an able Statesman and good Divine. The most considerable of his Works is that against *Fisher*, in which he very learnedly defends the Church of *England* against the Objections of his Adversary. *Vide Cyprianus Anglicus, F. Lloyd's Memoirs, and Wharton's Life of Archbishop Laud.*

His C H A R A C T E R by CLARENDON.

Within one Week after the King's Return from *Scotland*, Archbishop *Abbot* died at his House at *Lambeth*. The King took very little time to consider who should be his Successor, but the very next time the Bishop of *London* came to him, his Majesty entertain'd him very chearfully with this Compellation, *My Lord's Grace of Canterbury, you are very welcome*, and gave Order the same Day for the Dispatch of all the necessary Forms for the Translation; so that within a Month, or thereabouts, after the Death of the other Archbishop, he was compleatly invested in that high Dignity, and settled in his Palace at *Lambeth*. This great
Prelate

Prelate had been before in great Favour with the Duke of *Buckingham*, whose chief Confident he was, and by him recommended to the King as fittest to be trusted in the conferring all Ecclesiastical Preferments, when he was but Bishop of *St. David's*, or newly prefer'd to *Bath* and *Wells*; and from that time he entirely govern'd that Province without a Rival: So that his Promotion to *Canterbury* was long foreseen and expected, nor was it attended with any Encrease of Envy or Dislike.

He was a Man of great Parts and very exemplary Virtues, allay'd and discredited by some unpopular natural Infirmities; the greatest of which was (besides a hasty sharp Way of expressing himself) that he believ'd Innocence of Heart, and Integrity of Manners, was a Guard strong enough to secure any Man in his Voyage thro' this World, in what Company soever he travell'd, and thro' what Ways soever he was to pass: And sure never any Man was better supplied with that Provision. He was born of honest Parents, who were well able to provide for his Education in the Schools of Learning, from whence they sent him to *St. John's College* in *Oxford*, the worst endow'd at that time of any in that famous University: From a Scholar he became a Fellow, and then the President of the College, after he had receiv'd all the Graces and Degrees (the Proctorship and the Doctorship) could be obtain'd there.

He was always maligned and persecuted by those who were of the *Calvinian* Faction, which was then very powerful, and who, according to their usual Maxim and Practice, call every Man they do not love *Papist*: And under this senseless Appellation, they created him many Troubles and Vexations; and so far suppress'd him, that tho' he was the King's Chaplain, and taken notice of
for

for an excellent Preacher, and a Scholar of the most sublime Parts, he had not any Preferment to invite him to leave his poor College, which only gave him Bread, till the Vigour of his Age was past: And when he was promoted by King *James*, it was but to a poor Bishoprick in *Wales*, which was not so good a Support for a Bishop as his College was for a private Scholar.

Parliaments in that time were frequent, and grew very busy, and the Party, under which he had suffer'd a continual Persecution, appear'd very powerful, and full of Design. And they who had the Courage to oppose them, begun to be taken notice of with Approbation and Countenance: Under this Stile he came to be first cherish'd by the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had made some Experiments of the Temper of the other People, nothing to his Satisfaction. From this time he prosper'd at the Rate of his own Wishes, and being transplanted out of his cold barren Diocess of *St. David's* into a warmer Climate, he was left, as was said before, by that great Favourite in that great Trust with the King; who was sufficiently indispos'd towards the Persons, or the Principles of *Calvin's* Disciples. When he came into great Authority, it may be he retain'd too keen a Memory of those who had so unjustly and uncharitably persecuted him before; and, I doubt, was so far transported with the same Passions he had reason to complain of in his Adversaries, that as they accus'd him of Popery, because he held some doctrinal Opinions which they lik'd not, tho' they were nothing allied to Popery: So he entertain'd too much Prejudice to some Persons, as if they were Enemies to the Discipline of the Church, because they concur'd with *Calvin* in some doctrinal Points, when they abhor'd his Discipline, and reverenc'd the Government of the Church,

and

and pray'd for the Peace of it with as much Zeal and Feruency as any in the Kingdom, as they made manifest in their Lives, and in their Sufferings with it and for it. He had from his Entrance into the World, without any Disguise or Diffimulation, declar'd his own Opinion of that *Classis* of Men : And as soon as it was in his Power, he did all he could to hinder the Growth and Increase of that Faction, and to restrain those who were inclin'd to it, from doing the Mischief they desir'd to do. But his Power at Court could not enough qualify him to go through with that difficult Reformation, whilst he had a Superior in the Church, who having the Reins in his Hand, could slacken them according to his own Humour and Indiscretion, and was thought to be the more remiss, to irritate his cholerick Disposition. But when he had now the Primacy in his own Hand, the King being inspir'd with the same Zeal, he thought he should be to blame, and have much to answer for, if he did not make haste to apply Remedies to those Diseases which he saw would grow apace.

In the End of *September* 1633, he was invested in the Title, Power, and Jurisdiction of Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and entirely in Possession of the Revenue thereof, without a Rival in Church or State ; that is, no Man profess'd to oppose his Greatness ; and he had never interpos'd or appear'd in Matters of State to this time. His first Care was, that the Place he was remov'd from might be supplied with a Man who would be vigilant to pull up those Weeds which the *London* Soil was too apt to nourish, and so drew his old Friend and Companion *Dr. Juxon* as near to him as he could : They had been Fellows together in one College in *Oxford* ; and when he was first made Bishop of *St. David's*, he made him President of that College : When he could no longer keep the Deanery

Deanery of the Chappel-Royal, he made him his Successor in that near Attendance upon the King : And now he was rais'd to be Archbishop, he easily prevail'd with the King to make the other Bishop of *London* : The Archbishop's Heart was set upon the Advancement of the Church, in which he well knew he had the King's full Concurrence, which he thought would be too powerful for any Opposition, and that he should need no other Assistance ; but tho' the Nation was at this time generally well affected to the Church, yet some doctrinal Points in Controversy had been of late Years agitated in the Pulpits with unusual Warmth, the most popular Preachers, who had not look'd into the ancient Learning, took *Calvin's* Word for what they advanc'd, and did all they could to propagate his Opinion in those Points : They who had studied more, and were better vers'd in the Antiquities of the Church, the Fathers, the Councils, and Ecclesiastical Histories, with the same Heat and Passion, in preaching and writing, defended the contrary.

And because in the late Dispute in the *Dutch* Churches, the Opinions of the latter had been supported by *Jacobus Arminius*, the Divinity-Professor in the University of *Leyden*, they were call'd *Arminians* : Either Party profess'd to adhere to the Doctrine of the Catholick Church, (which had been ever wiser than to determine the Controversy.) And yet that Party here, which could least support themselves with Reason, were very solicitous, according to the Ingenuity they always practise to advance any of their Pretences, to have the People believe that they who held with *Arminius* did intend to introduce Popery ; and truly the other Side were no less willing to have it thought, that all who adher'd to *Calvin* in those Controversies, did in their Hearts likewise adhere

to him with reference to the Discipline, and desir'd to change the Government of the Church, destroy the Bishops, and to set up the Discipline he had establish'd at *Geneva* ; whereas, in Truth, none of the one Side were at all inclin'd to Popery, and very many of the other were most affectionate to the Peace and Prosperity of the Church, and very pious, learned Men.

The Archbishop had all his Life eminently oppos'd *Calvin's* Doctrine in those Controversies, before the Name of *Arminius* was taken notice of, or his Opinions heard of ; and thereupon, for want of another Name, they had call'd him a *Papist*, which no body believ'd him to be, and he had more manifested the contrary in his Disputations and Writings than most Men had done ; and it may be the other found the more severe and rigorous Usage from him, for their propagating that Calumny against him : He was a Man of great Courage and Resolution, and being most assur'd within himself that he propos'd no End in all his Actions and Designs but what was pious and just, he never studied the easiest Way to those Ends ; he thought, it may be, that any Art or Industry that Way would discredit, at least make the Integrity of the End suspected, let the Cause be what it will. He did court Persons too little, nor cared to make his Designs and Purposes appear as candid as they were, by shewing them in any other Dress than their own natural Beauty, tho' perhaps in too rough a Manner ; and did not consider enough what Men said, or were like to say of him. If the Faults and Vices were fit to be look'd into and discover'd, let the Persons be who they would that were guilty of them, they were sure to find no Connivance or Favour from him. He intended the Discipline of the Church should be felt as well as spoken of, and that it should be applied

plied to the greatest and most splendid Transgressors, as well as to the Punishment of smaller Offences, and meaner Offenders, and thereupon call'd for, or cherish'd the Discovery of those who were not careful to cover their own Iniquities, thinking they were out of the Reach of Justice : Persons of Honour and great Quality were every Day cited into the High Commission-Court, upon the Fame of their Incontinence, or other Scandal in their Lives, and were there prosecuted to their Shame and Punishment : And as the Shame (which they call'd an insolent Triumph upon their Degree and Quality, and levying them with the common People) was never forgotten, but watch'd for Revenge ; so the Fines impos'd there were the more question'd and repin'd against, because they were assign'd to the rebuilding and repairing *St. Paul's Church* ; and thought therefore to be the more severely impos'd, and the less compassionately reduc'd and excus'd : Which likewise made the Jurisdiction and Rigour of the Star-chamber more felt, and murmur'd against ; and sharpen'd many Men's Humours against the Bishops, before they had any ill Intention towards the Church.

The Archbishop never abated any thing of his Severity and Rigour towards Men of all Conditions, or in the Sharpness of his Language and Expressions, which was so natural to him, that he could not debate any thing without some Commotion, when the Argument was not of Moment, nor bear Contradiction in Debate, even in the Council, where all Men are equally free, with that Patience and Temper, which was necessary ; of which they who wish'd him not well took many Advantages, and would therefore contradict him, that he might be transported with some incident Passion ; which, upon a short Recollection, he was always sorry for, and most readily
and

and heartily would make Acknowledgment. No Man so willingly made unkind Use of all those Occasions as the Lord *Cottington*, who being a Master of Temper, and of the most profound Diffimulation, knew too well how to lead him into a Mistake, and then drive him into Choler, and then expose him upon the Matter and the Manner to the Judgment of the Company; and he chose to do this most, when the King was present, and then he would dine with him the next Day. *Clar. 99.*

Whatsoever was the Cause of it, this excellent Man, who stood not upon the Advantage-ground before, from the time of his Promotion to the Archbishoprick, or rather from that of his being Commissioner of the Treasury, exceedingly provok'd or underwent the Envy, and Reproach and Malice of Men of all Qualities and Conditions, who agreed in nothing else: All which, tho' well known to him, were not enough consider'd by him, who believ'd, as most Men did, the Government so firmly settled, that it could neither be shaken from within or without; and that less than a general Confusion of Law and Gospel could not hurt him, which was true too; but he did not foresee how easily that Confusion might be brought to pass. *Pag. 102.*

He defended himself at his Tryal with great and undaunted Courage, and less Passion than was expected from his Constitution: He answer'd all their Objections with Clearness and irresistible Reason, and convinc'd all impartial Men of his Integrity, and his Detestation of all treasonable Intentions. So that tho' few excellent Men have ever had fewer Friends to their Persons, yet all reasonable Men absolv'd him from any foul Crime that the Law could take notice of and punish; however, when they had said all against him they could, and he all for himself that need to be said,
and

and no such Crime appearing as the Lords would take upon them to judge him to be worthy of Death; they resorted to their legislative Power, and by Ordinance of Parliament, as they call'd it, that is, by a Determination of those Members who sat in the Houses (whereof in the House of Peers there were not above twelve) they appointed him to be put to Death, as guilty of High Treason: The first time the two Houses of Parliament had ever assum'd that Jurisdiction, or that ever Ordinance had been made to such a Purpose; nor could any Rebellion be more against Law, than that murderous Act. *Clar. Vol. II. 572.*

When his Tryal was over, and the Ordinance pass'd for his Execution, and it was demanded of him, according to Custom, what he could say why he should not suffer Death: He said he had the King's Pardon, which he pleaded and tender'd to them, and desir'd it might be allow'd. Whereupon he was sent to the Tower, and the Pardon read in both Houses; where, without any long Debate, it was declar'd to be of no Effect, and that the King could not pardon a Judgment of Parliament. And so without troubling themselves further, they gave Order for his beheading, which he underwent with all Christian Courage and Magnanimity, to the Admiration of the Beholders, and Confusion of his Enemies. Much hath been said of the Person of this great Prelate before, of his great Endowments and natural Infirmities, to which shall be added no more in this Place (his Memory deserving a particular Celebration) than that his Learning, Piety and Virtue, have been attain'd by very few, and the greatest of his Infirmities are common to all, even to the best of Men. *Vol. II. 573.*

*The EXECUTION of King CHARLES I. the
30th of January, 1648.*

THIS Day the Bishop of *London* read Divine Service before his Majesty, and the 27th of *St. Matthew*, the History of our Saviour's Passion, being appointed by the Church for that Day, he gave the Bishop Thanks for his seasonable Choice of the Lesson; but the Bishop acquainting him that it was the Service of the Day, it comforted him exceedingly; then he proceeded to receive the Holy Sacrament. His Devotions being ended, he was brought from *St. James's* to *White-Hall*, by a Regiment of Foot, besides his private Guard of *Partisans*; the Bishop of *London* on the one Hand, and Colonel *Tomlinson*, who had the Charge of him, on the other, bareheaded. The Guards marching a slow Pace, the King bid them go faster, saying, that he now went before them to strive for an heavenly Crown. Being come to the End of the Park, he went up the Stairs leading to the Long-Gallery in *White-hall*, where formerly he used to lodge, and there finding an unexpected Delay, the Scaffold being not ready, he past most of the Time in Prayer. About twelve a-clock, (his Majesty having eat a bit of Bread, and drank a Glass of Claret) Colonel *Hacker*, with other Officers and Soldiers, brought the King, with the Bishop, and Colonel *Tomlinson*, thro' the Banqueting-house, to the Scaffold. A strong Guard of several Regiments of Horse and Foot were planted on all Sides, which hinder'd the near Approach of the People, and the King from being heard, and therefore he chiefly directed his Speech to the Bishop and Colonel *Tomlinson*.

His

His Majesty's SPEECH upon the Scaffold.

I Shall be very little heard of any Body else ;
 I shall therefore speak a Word to you here :
 Indeed, I could hold my Peace very well, if I did
 not think that holding my Peace would make
 some Men think that I did submit to the Guilt,
 as well as the Punishment : But I think it is my
 Duty to God and my Country, to clear myself,
 both as an honest Man, a good King, and a
 good Christian. I shall begin first with my Inno-
 cency ; in Troth, I think it not very needful to
 insist long upon this ; for all the World knows
 that I did never begin a War with the two
 Houses of Parliament ; and I call God to Wit-
 ness, to whom I must shortly make an Account,
 that I did never intend to inroach upon their
 Privileges ; they began upon me. It is the Mi-
 litia they began upon ; they confess'd the Militia
 was mine, but they thought fit to have it from
 me : And, to be short, if any Body will look to
 the *Dates of Commissions*, of their Commissions and
 mine, and likewise to the *Declarations*, he will
 see clearly that they began these Troubles, not I.
 So that as for the Guilt of these enormous Crimes
 that are laid against me, I hope in God that God
 will clear me of. I will not, I am in Charity,
 and God forbid I should lay it upon the two
 Houses of Parliament, there is no necessity of
 either : I hope they are free of this Guilt ; for I
 believe, that ill Instruments between them and
 me have been the Cause of all this Bloodshed ;
 so that as I find myself clear of this, I hope, and
 pray God that they may too : Yet, for all this,
 God forbid I should be so ill a Christian, as not
 to say God's Judgments are just upon me. Many
 times he doth pay Justice by an unjust Sentence,

that is ordinary. I will only say this, that an unjust Sentence that I suffer'd to take Effect, is punished now by an unjust Sentence upon me: So far I have said to shew you that I am an Innocent Man.

Now, to shew that I am a good Christian, I hope there is a good Man [*Pointing to Bishop Juxon*] that will bear me Witness, that I have forgiven all the World, and even those in particular that have been the chief Causes of my Death; who they are God knows; I do not desire to know: I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, my Charity must go farther; I wish that they may repent. For, indeed, they have committed a great Sin in that Particular. I pray God, with *St. Stephen*, that it be not laid to their Charge; nay, not only so, but that they may take the right Way to the Peace of the Kingdom; for my Charity commands me not only to forgive particular Men, but to endeavour, to the last Gasps, the Peace of the Kingdom. So, Sirs, I do wish with all my Soul (*I hope there are some here that will carry it farther*) and endeavour the Peace of the Kingdom. Now, Sirs, I must shew you both how you are out of the Way, and will put you in the Way. First, you are out of the Way; for certainly all the Ways you ever had yet, as I could find by any thing, is in the way of Conquest; certainly this is an ill Way; for Conquest, Sirs, in my Opinion, is never just, except there be a good and just Cause, either for Matter of Wrong, or a just Title; and then, if you go beyond the first Quarrel, that makes that unjust at the End that was just at first; if there be only Matter of Conquest, then it is a great Robbery, as a Pirate said to *Alexander*, that he was a great Robber, he was but a petty Robber. And so, Sirs, I think the Way you are in is much

out of the Way. Now, Sirs, to put you in the Way, believe it, you shall never go right, nor God will never prosper you, until you give God his Due, the King his Due (that is, my Successor) and the People their Due: I am as much for them as any of you. You must give God his Due, by regulating rightly his Church (according to the Scripture) which is now out of Order; to set you in a way particularly now, I cannot; but only this, *A National Synod freely called, freely debated among themselves, must settle this*, when every Opinion is freely heard. For the King [*Then turning to a Gentleman that touch'd the Ax, he said, Hunt not the Ax, that may hurt me.*] Indeed, I will not ---- the Laws of the Land will clearly instruct you for that; therefore, because it concerns my own Particular, I shall only give you a touch of it. For the People, truly I desire their Liberty and Freedom as much as any Body whosoever; but I must tell you, that their Liberty and Freedom consist in having Government, those Laws by which their Lives and their Goods may be most their own. It is not their having a Share in the Government, that is nothing appertaining to them: A Subject and a Sovereign are clean different Things; and therefore until you do that, I mean, that you put the People in that Liberty, as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves.

Sirs, it was for this that now I am come here, if I would have given way to an Arbitrary Way, to have all Laws changed according to the Power of the Sword, I needed not to have come here; and therefore I tell you (and I pray God it be not laid to your Charge) that I am the Martyr of the People. In Troth, Sirs, I shall not hold you much longer: I will only say this to you, That I could have desir'd a little time longer, because I

would have a little better digested this I have said, and therefore I hope you will excuse me ; I have deliver'd my Conscience, I pray God you take those Courses that are the best for the Good of the Kingdom and your own Salvation.

Bishop. Tho' your Majesty's Affections may be very well known as to Religion ; yet it may be expected that you should say something thereof for the World's Satisfaction.

King. I thank you heartily, my Lord, for that I had almost forgotten it. In Troth, Sirs, my Conscience in Religion, I think, is very well known to all the World ; and therefore I declare before you all, that I die a Christian, according to the Profession of the Church of *England*, as I found it left me by my Father ; and this honest Man, I think, will witness it.

Then turning to the Officers, he said, Sirs, excuse me for this fame : I have a good Cause, and I have a gracious God, I will say no more.

Then to Colonel *Hacker* he said, Take Care that they do not put me to Pain : And, Sir, this, and it please you - - - - -

But a Gentleman coming near the Ax, the King said, Take heed of the Ax, pray take heed of the Ax.

Then speaking to the Executioner, he said, I shall say but very short Prayers, and when I thrust out my Hands - - - - -

Then he called to the Bishop for his Night-Cap, and having put it on, he said to the Executioner, *Does my Hair trouble you ?* who desir'd him to put it all under his Cap, which the King did accordingly, by the Help of the Executioner and the Bishop. Then turning to Dr. *Juxon*, he said, *I have a good Cause and a gracious God on my Side.*

Bishop.

Bishop. There is but one Stage more, this Stage is turbulent and troublesome, it is a short one; but you may consider it will soon carry you a very great way, it will carry you from Earth to Heaven; and there you will find a great deal of cordial Joy and Comfort.

King. I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown, where no Disturbance can be, no Disturbance in the World.

Bishop. You are exchanged from a Temporary to an Eternal Crown, a good Exchange.

Then the King said to the Executioner, *Is my Hair well?* And took off his Cloak and his George, giving his George to the Bishop, saying, *Remember.* Then he put off his Doublet, and being in his Wastecoat, he put on his Cloak again; then looking upon the Block, he said to the Executioner, *You must set it fast.*

Executioner. It is fast, Sir.

King. When I put out my Hands this way (stretching them out) then ----- After that, having said two or three Words to himself, as he stood with his Hands and Eyes lift up, immediately stooping down, he laid his Neck upon the Block: And then the Executioner again putting his Hair under his Cap, the King thinking he had been going to strike, said, *Stay for the Sign.*

Executioner. Yes, I will, an't please your Majesty. After a little Pause, the King stretching forth his Hands, the Executioner, at one Blow, sever'd his Head from his Body, and held it up and shew'd it to the People, saying, *Behold the Head of a Traitor*; after which the Corps was put into a Coffin, and the Bishop and Mr. Herbert went with it to the Back-Stairs to have it embalmed; after embalming, his Head was sewed on, and the Corps was wrapt in Lead, and the Coffin cover'd with a Velvet Pall, and then removed to

St. James's. Mr. Herbert then made Application to such as were in Power, that it might be inter'd in *Henry VII's* Chappel; but 'twas deny'd, for that his burying there would attract infinite Numbers of all Sorts thither; which, as the Times then were, was judged unsafe and inconvenient. Mr. Herbert acquainting the Bishop with this, they then resolv'd to bury the King's Body in the royal Chappel of St. George, within the *Castle of Windsor*, both in regard that his Majesty was Sovereign of the most Noble Order of the Garter, and that several Kings had been there inter'd; namely, King *Henry VI*, *Edward IV*, and *Henry VIII*, upon which Consideration the Committee of Parliament was address'd to the second time, who, after some Deliberation, gave Orders, bearing Date *February 6, 1648*, authorizing Mr. Herbert, and Mr. *Anthony Mildmay* to bury the King's Body there. Accordingly the Corps was carried thither from St. James's, *Feb. 7.* in a Hearse cover'd with black Velvet, drawn by six Horses cover'd with black Cloth, and attended by about a dozen Gentlemen.

HIS CHARACTER.

He was of the most inoffensive Disposition, the most exemplary Piety, the greatest Sobriety, Chastity and Mercy that any Prince has been endow'd with; and who might have said that which *Pericles* was proud of upon his Death-Bed, concerning his Citizens: *That no English Man had ever worn a mourning Gown through his Occasion.* Clar. Vol. i. p. 76.

He was always the most punctual Observer of all Decency in his Devotion, and the strictest Promoter of the Ceremonies of the Church, as believing in his Soul the Church of *England* to be insti-

instituted the nearest to the Practices of the Apostles, and the best for the Propagation and Advancement of Christian Religion of any Church in the World; and, on the other side, tho' no Man was more averse from the *Romish* Church than he was, nor better understood the Motives of their Separation from us, and Animosity against us; he had the highest Dislike and Prejudice to that Part of his own Subjects who were against the Government establish'd, and did always look upon them as a very dangerous and seditious People, who would, under pretence of Conscience, which kept them from submitting to the spiritual Jurisdiction, take the first Opportunity they could find or make to withdraw from their temporal Subjection. *Pag. 81.*

To speak first of his private Qualifications as a Man, before the mention of his princely and royal Virtues. He was, if ever any, the most worthy of the Title of an honest Man; so great a Lover of Justice, that no Temptation could dispose him to a wrongful Action, except it was so disguis'd to him that he believ'd it to be just. He had a Tenderness and Compassion of Nature, which restrain'd him from ever doing a hard hearted thing; and therefore he was so apt to grant Pardon to Malefactors, that the Judges of the Land represented to him the Damage and Insecurity to the Publick that flow'd from such his Indulgence. And then he restrain'd himself from pardoning either Murders or Highway Robberies, and quickly discern'd the Fruits of his Severity, by a wonderful Reformation of those Enormities. He was very punctual and regular in his Devotions: He was never known to enter upon his Recreations or Sports, tho' never so early in the Morning, before he had been at publick Prayers; so that on Hunting Days his Chap-
lains

lains were bound to a very early Attendance. He was likewise very strict in observing the Hours of his private Cabinet Devotion; and was so severe an Exactor of Gravity and Reverence in all mention of Religion, that he could never endure any light or prophane Word, with what sharpness of Wit soever it was cover'd; And tho' he was well pleas'd and delighted with reading Verses made upon any Occasion, no Man durst bring before him any thing that was prophane or unclean, that kind of Wit had never any countenance there. He was so great an Example of conjugal Affection, that they who did not imitate him in that Particular, durst not brag of their Liberty; and he did not only permit, but direct his Bishops to prosecute those scandalous Vices in the Ecclesiastical Courts, against Persons of Eminence, and near Relation to his Service. *Vol. 3. 256.*

His Kingly Virtues had some Mixture and Allay that hinder'd them from shining in full Lustre, and from producing those Fruits they should have been attended with: He was not in his Nature very bountiful, tho' he gave very much. This appear'd more after the Duke of *Buckingham's* Death, after which those Showers fell very rarely, and he paused too long in giving, which made those to whom he gave less sensible of the Benefit. He kept State to the full, which made his Court very orderly, no Man presuming to be seen in a Place where he had no Pretence to be. He saw and observ'd Men long before he receiv'd them about his Person, and did not love Strangers, nor very confident Men. He was a patient Hearer of Causes, which he frequently accusom'd himself to at the Council Board, and judg'd very well, and was dexterous in the mediating Part; so that he often put an End to
Causes

Causes by Persuasion, which the Stubbornness of Mens Humors made dilatory in Courts of Justice.

He was fearless in his Person, but in his riper Years not very enterprizing : He had an excellent Understanding, but was not confident enough of it, which made him oftentimes change his own Opinion for a worse, and follow the Advice of Men that did not judge so well as himself. This made him more irresolute than the Conjunction of his Affairs would admit : If he had been of a rougher and more imperious Nature, he would have found more Respect and Duty, and his not applying some severe Cures to approaching Evils, proceeded from the Lenity of his Nature, and the Tenderness of his Conscience, which in all Cases of Blood made him chuse the softer way, and not harken to severe Councils, how reasonably soever urged. This only restrain'd him from pursuing his Advantage in the first *Scotch* Expedition, when, humanly speaking, he might have reduc'd that Nation to the most entire Obedience that could have been wish'd ; but no Man can say he had then many that advis'd him to it, but the contrary, by a wonderful Indisposition all his Council had to the War, or any other Fatigue. He was always a great Lover of the *Scotish* Nation, having not only been born there, but educated by that People, and besieg'd by them always, having few *English* about him till he was King ; and the major Number of his Servants being still of that Nation, who he thought could never fail him. And among these no Man had such an Ascendant over him, by the humblest Insinuations, as Duke *Hamilton* had.

As he excell'd in all other Virtues, so in Temperance he was so strict, that he abhor'd all Debauchery to that degree, that at a great Festival Solemnity, where he once was, when very many of
the

the Nobility of the *English* and *Scotch* were entertain'd; being told by one who withdrew from thence what vast Draughts of Wine they drank, and that there was one Earl who had drank most of the rest down, and was not himself mov'd or alter'd, the King said that he deserv'd to be hang'd; and that Earl coming shortly after into the Room, where his Majesty was, in some Gaiety, to shew how unhurt he was from that Battle, the King sent one to bid him withdraw from his Majesty's Presence, nor did he in some Days after appear before him.

So many miraculous Circumstances contributed to this King's Ruin, that Men might well think that Heaven and Earth conspir'd it. Though he was from the first Declension of his Power so much betray'd by his own Servants, that there were very few who remain'd faithful to him, yet that Treachery proceeded not always from any treasonable Purpose to do him any Harm, but from particular and personal Animosities against other Men. And afterwards the Terror that all Men were under of the Parliament, and the Guilt they were conscious of themselves, made them watch all Opportunities to make themselves Gracious to those that could do them good; and so they became Spies upon their Master, and from one piece of Knavery were harden'd and confirm'd to undertake another, till at last they had no hope of Preservation but by the Destruction of their Master. And after all this, when a Man might reasonably believe that less than a universal Defection of three Nations could not have reduc'd a great King to so ugly a Fate; it is most certain, that in that very Hour when he was wickedly Murder'd in the sight of the Sun, he had as great a Share in the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects in general, was as much belov'd, esteem'd

esteem'd and long'd for, by the People in general of the three Nations, as any of his Predecessors had ever been. To conclude, he was the worthiest Gentleman, the best Master, the best Friend, the best Husband, the best Father, and the best Christian that the Age, in which he liv'd, produc'd. And if he were not the greatest King, if he were without some Parts and Qualities which have made some Kings great and happy, no other Prince was ever unhappy who was possess'd of half his Virtues and Endowments, and so much without any kind of Vice.

The Execution of Duke HAMILTON, Friday the 9th of March 1649. [Taken from the Right Reverend Bishop Burnet's Memoirs.]

THE eighth of March 1649, the Duke, the Earl of Norwich, the Lord Capel, and Sir John Owen (who had all receiv'd Sentence of Death) were brought into one Room: Having spent great part of that Night in taking leave of their Friends, and in their Devotions. The next Day the Duke made the following Speech to his Friends that attended him, which his Brother publish'd from the Original he sent him.

I know you that are here to be true and faithful to me, I will therefore, in your hearing, say somewhat in order to myself and to my present Condition, and give you also this Copy of it; which, after I am gone, may, perhaps, be thought necessary to be publish'd as the last Testimony of my Loyalty to my King, for whom I now die, and of my Affection to my Country, for the pursuance of whose pious and loyal Commands I am now to suffer.

That my Religion hath always been, and still is Orthodox, I am confident no Man doubts: I shall

shall not therefore need to say much to that Particular, only that *I am of the true reform'd Protestant Religion, as it is profess'd in the Church of Scotland.*

I take God to Witness, that I have been constantly a loyal and faithful Subject and Servant to his late Majesty, in spite of all Malice and Calumny : I have had the Honour, since my Childhood, to attend and be near him till now of late ; and during all that time, I observ'd in him as eminent Virtues, and as little Vice as in any Man I ever knew ; and I dare say, he never harbour'd Thought of countenancing Popery in any of his Dominions, otherwise than was allow'd by the Laws of *England*, and that among all his Subjects there could not be found a better Protestant than himself, and surely also he was free from having any Intent to exercise any Tyranny, or absolute Power over his Subjects, and that he hath been so unfortunate, I rather impute the Cause of it to the Sins of his People, than to his own : For my own Part, I do protest never to have swerv'd from that true Allegiance which was due to him, and that hath constantly been paid (to my Comfort I speak it) to his Progenitors by my Ancestors, for many Ages, without Spot or Dishonour ; and I hope shall be still, by my Successors, to his Posterity.

I do heartily wish well to, and pray for his Royal Issue, and shall die a true and loyal Subject to his eldest Son *Charles II.* the unquestionable King by Right of all his Father's Kingdoms. I hope, tho' I do not live to see it, that God's Justice and Goodness will in his own time establish him on the Throne of his Father, which I doubt not some of you will see come to pass ; and I am confident till then, and so long as Men deeply plung'd in Guilt and Self-Interest usurp Power
and

and Government, these Kingdoms will fall short either of Peace, or any other permanent Happiness.

I speak this from my just Affection to the Royal Race, and much Compassion to his Majesty's Subjects ; but not from any Malice, Anger, or desire of Revenge against any, for what I have, or am to suffer, for I forgive all Men.

It is well known what Calumnies and Aspersions have been thrown upon me by Men of several Parties and Interests, not excepting those who would seem to carry much Affection to his late Majesty, as if I had express'd Disservice or Disloyalty to him ; the which, how malicious and groundless they were, I appeal to God, who, with my own Conscience, clearly beareth Witness of my Innocency therein, and I shall beg Mercy from him to whom I am now to give an Account of all my Thoughts and Actions, as I have still had a faithful and loyal Heart to my Master.

It hath been a general Complaint that I persuaded his Majesty to pass the Act of continuing this Parliament. I dispute not whether the doing of it at that time might have been reputed good or bad, but surely it was not I that did persuade it ; neither did I at all deal with his Majesty for his Consent to the Bill of Attainder for taking away the Life of the Earl of *Strafford*, whose great Parts and Affection, 'tis known, I highly valued : Yet some have been pleas'd to attribute to me the Cause of that Concession ; but were his Majesty now living, I am confident he would publicly clear me in both these, as he hath been pleas'd many times in private formerly to do.

And truly I am not conscious to my self, (tho' I have been for many Years a Privy-Counsellor to him) of ever giving him any Advice that tended

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to other Ends (as I conceiv'd) than the Good and Peace of his Majesty and his Dominions.

It hath been rumour'd, since my last Imprisonment, that I should confess my self to be the greatest Instrument under his Majesty (by making use of his *Scotish* Great Seal) for authorizing the War in *Ireland*; a Report so false and simple, as, in my Opinion, judicious and honest Men will not believe it. And truly, as I am free from having Hand therein in any manner of way, so I am of nothing more confident, than that his Majesty was also absolutely free thereof, and that he was not in any Case a Caufer or Countenancer of those *Irish* Troubles.

I have been often examin'd touching Persons of several Qualities within this Kingdom, that, as is suppos'd, did invite into *England* the late Army from *Scotland*, or promis'd Assistance after their coming; and of late much Persuasion hath been us'd with me to that Purpose, as that upon my Discovery thereof depended the only Means of my Preservation. I will not say that I had anything to reveal, which would have been satisfactory; but this I desire you to attest to the World, that I have not accus'd, or said any thing that may reflect on any Man, of what Degree soever, within the King's Dominions: And indeed it was so contrary to my Conscience, and so derogatory to my Honour, that if I had been able, yet should I never have prejudiced any in that Nature, tho' it had been to save me an hundred Lives.

Touching that foul and senseless Slander, that I betray'd the Army under my Conduct, the Care and Pains I then took to prevent the loss of it, and the near Approach of my suffering for it, will, I suppose, abundantly contradict this Aspersion. I was satisfied with the Justness and Necessity of
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that Engagement upon the Grounds of the Declaration of the Parliament of *Scotland*, fearing then the sad Confusions which have since follow'd here both in Church and State, and particularly the fatal Fall of my Master, to the Preservation of whose Person I was by Obligation and natural Affections as passionately tied, as I could be by Duty and Allegiance.

And now I confess I am void of all Rancour or Displeasure against any, tho' I am within few Hours to die, adjudged by a lawless and arbitrary Court, of purpose erected, as is said, to destroy my Master, and some of his Servants, and for a great Part compos'd of Men mechanick and unfit to be Judges; my Death being decreed right or wrong, as is reported, before ever the Trial begun. And tho' my Death is no less than Murder, yet I forgive all, and pray to God to do it, and that my Blood be not laid to their Charge, or to some powerful and eminent Mens, who, as is thought, upon some sinistrous Ends, have many Months since contriv'd my Destruction, which now is ready to take effect. And tho' I have answer'd to that Court in regard of the Justness of my Defence, which I thought would have weigh'd with them: Yet I never thought, nor do I acknowledge any Jurisdiction, or lawful Authority in the same, notwithstanding I do with all Christian Humility submit to the Punishment, which for my other personal Sins the Lord hath justly brought upon me. I should have spoken more, yet would not have said so much, but for fear lest either my Memory might slip it on the Scaffold, or that the Rudeness of some People, by Noise or otherwise, might have interrupted me speaking on this Subject. So I thank God I am well prepar'd. God bless you, remember me to all my Friends. I know I have been a great Sin-

ner, yet thro' Faith I have an Assurance that God will forgive me, and have Mercy upon me, thro' the alone Suffering and Intercession of Jesus Christ my Saviour. *Amen.*

About nine a-clock the Officers call'd to the Prisoners to prepare to go, and they were carried in Sedans, strongly guarded, to Sir Robert Cotton's House : When they came to Sir Robert Cotton's, three or four Officers came from Cromwell, desiring the Duke to make some Discoveries, who should not only be prefer'd, but be made a great Man ; but he refus'd, as he had formerly done on those Occasions, and said, if he had as many Lives as Hairs on his Head, he would lay them all down, rather than redeem them by so base a Means. Then they all went to Prayers, and they had some excellent Preachers waiting on them, and praying with them. Some Wine was brought them, and they all drank one to another, and embrac'd and kiss'd each other with much Tenderness. The Duke was first led to the Scaffold, and on the way other Officers came from Cromwell, renewing the former Offers, if he would make Discoveries, but he rejected them with scorn.

When the Duke came to the Scaffold, perceiving greater Silence than he expected, tho' he had resolv'd to make no publick Speech, yet being invited by the Attention he observ'd, he spoke to the People ; but as he had not premeditated it, no Copy remains but what was printed from the Notes of the Hearers, and therefore Dr. Burnet says he only gives us the Heads of it ; as follows,

He address'd himself to the Sheriff, and told him, he judg'd it not very necessary for him to speak much, his Voice was so weak and low, that few of the Croud that look'd on would hear him ; nor was he ever so much in love with speaking, or
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with any thing he had to say, that he took much Delight in it : Yet since this was his last, he being by the Divine Providence of Almighty God brought justly to that End for his Sins, he would speak a little to the Sheriff, for his Voice could not reach others. He was now to suffer as a Traitor to the Kingdom of *England*, a Country which he had ever lov'd equally with his own, not having intended any general Prejudice to it, or to any particular Person in it : His late Actings were the Commands of his own Country, which he could not disobey. It is true, it had pleased God so to dispose of the Army under his Command, that it was ruin'd, and he for being cloath'd with a Commission to be General, stood now ready to die. He would not repent what he had pleaded for his own Defence, God was Just ; nor would he say any thing of his Sentence, but that he did willingly submit to God's Providence, acknowledging that on many Accounts he deserv'd Punishment in this Life, as well as in the next, for he confess'd himself a great Sinner : Yet for his Comfort he knew there was a God in Heaven, who was very merciful, and that his Redeemer did sit at his right Hand, and he was confident that he was mediating for him at that very Instant, being hopeful, thro' his all-sufficient Merits, to be pardon'd all his Sins, and to be receiv'd into his Mercy, trusting only to the free Grace of God thro' Jesus Christ. He declar'd he had never been tainted in the Religion profess'd and establish'd in the Land, in which he had been bred from his Infancy : It was not this or that Mode or Fancy of Religion that was to be built on, but one that was right and sure, and came from God.

Here observing some were taking Notes, he said he did not expect that, or he had digested what he had said into a better Method: But desir'd that what he had said might not be publish'd to his Disadvantage, since he had not intended to speak any thing when he came to that Place. Then he went on and said, Many dreadful Aspersions had been cast on him, as if his Intentions had not been such as he pretended; but he thank'd God he was unjustly blam'd: That for the King he had ever lov'd him, both as he was his King and his Master, with whom he had been bred many Years, and had been his Domestick-Servant, and that there was nothing the Parliament of Scotland declar'd for the King, that was not really intended by himself; and as he hazard-ed his Life for him one Way, so he now was to lose it another; and that his Design of Leading in the Army to *England* was really that which was publish'd in the Declaration, in so far as concern'd the King: He was not then to speak of the rest of the Declaration, which had many other Particulars in it; and for what he said of his Duty to the King, there was no Reason to suspect him of Flattery, or any other End in saying it (God having now so dispos'd of his Majesty) but tho' he could gain nothing by it, yet he ow'd the freeing himself of that Calumny to Truth, by which all Men shall gain for ever. There had been many Discourses founded on a Part of the *Scotish* Declaration, which mention'd an Invitation to come to *England*, upon which he had been much labour'd for discovering the Inviters; but he had and did still remit himself to the Declaration, without any other Answer. He was ever willing to serve this Nation in any thing was in his Power, which was known to many worthy Persons in it; and he would still have continued in those Resolutions, had those, in whose Hands
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the Power was then, thought fit to have preserv'd his Life. But since he was thenceforth to be of no more use, all he could do, was to wish the Kingdom Happiness and Peace, and to pray that his Blood might be the last should be shed : And tho' perhaps he had some Reluctance within himself at the Suffering for this Fact, yet he freely forgave all Men, and carried no Rancour with him to the Grave ; but did submit to the Will of him who created Heaven and Earth, and himself, a poor sinful Creature then speaking before him : He conceiv'd it could contribute to no End for him to speak of State Business, of the Government of the Kingdom, or things of that Nature ; his own Inclinations had been still for Peace. He was never an ill Instrument betwixt the King and his People, nor had he acted to the Prejudice of the Parliament. And as he had not meddled much in those Wars, so he was never wanting in his Prayers to Almighty God for his King's Happiness, and he earnestly prayed God to direct his Majesty (who then reigned) that he might do what should tend to his Glory, and the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdoms. He said he was of the establish'd Religion, which he had profess'd in his own Country where he was born and bred ; but for particular Opinions he was not rigid, he knew many godly Men had Scruples about divers things, wherein he had never concern'd himself ; nor did Difference of Opinion (which was never more than at this time) move him. His own was clear. He pray'd the Lord to forgive him his Sins, as he freely forgave even those against whom he had the greatest Grounds of Animosity, remembring that Prayer, *Forgive us our Trespases, as we forgive them that trespass against us.* He

He discover'd a great Composure by his Looks and Manner of Expression ; and when he was desir'd to change the Posture he stood in, since the Sun shin'd full in his Face : He answer'd presently, no, it would not burn it ; and he hoped to see a brighter Sun than that very speedily.

After the Duke had done speaking, he call'd for the Executioner, and desir'd to know how he should fit his Body for the Blow, and told him his Servants would give him Satisfaction. Then he called to his Servants, and commanded them to remember him kindly to divers of his Friends in *England*, particularly to his Mother-in-law, the Countess of *Denbigh*, to whom he had ever paid a filial Respect, and to the old Countess of *Devonshire* : He bid them tell her she would no more question his Loyalty (which she had done sometimes in Raillery) since he was now to seal it with his Blood : Then he kneel'd down and pray'd, after which *Dr. Sibbald* entertain'd him with some pious Discourses ; then the Duke pray'd a short Prayer himself, and with a chearful Countenance embrac'd the Doctor, and said, *Truly I bless God I do not fear, I have an Assurance that is grounded here* (laying his Hand on his Heart) *that gives me more true Joy than ever I had. I pass out of a miserable World, to go to an eternal and glorious Kingdom ; and tho' I have been a most sinful Creature, yet I know God's Mercy is infinite ; and I bless my God I go with so clear a Conscience, that I know not the Man I have personally injur'd.* Then embracing his Servants, he said to every one of them, *You have been very faithful to me, the Lord bless you.* He turn'd next to the Executioner, and after he had observ'd how he should lay his Body, he told him he was to say a short Prayer to his God while he lay all along, and should give a Sign by stretching out his right Hand, and then he was to do his Duty ;

whom

whom he freely forgave, as he did all the World. And then he stretched himself out on the Ground, and having plac'd his Head right, he lay a little while praying, with great Appearance of Devotion, and then gave the Sign : Upon which the Executioner, at one Blow, sever'd his Head from his Body, which was receiv'd in a Crimson Taffety Scarf by two of his Servants, kneeling by him, and was, together with his Body, immediately put in a Coffin, which was ready on the Scaffold, and from thence convey'd to a House in the *Meuse*, from whence it was, according to the Orders he had given, sent down by Sea to *Scotland*, and inter'd in the Burial-place of his Family.

The CHARACTER of JAMES Duke of HAMILTON, &c. taken from Dr. BURNET'S Memoirs.

Thus lived and died *James*, Duke of *Hamilton*, who was born at *Hamilton* the 19th of *June*, 1606. His Parents were *James*, Marquess of *Hamilton*, and Lady *Anne Cunningham*, Daughter to the Earl of *Glencairn*. He was of a middle Stature, his Body well-shap'd, and his Limbs proportion'd and strait ; in his last Years he inclin'd to Fatness ; his Complexion and Hair were Black, but his Countenance was pleasant, and full of Life, and shewed a great Sweetness of Disposition ; his Health was regular, suitable to his Diet, and free of Sickness or Pain, only in his last Years he was a little subject to the Stone : But when his Body was open'd, all his Inwards were found sound and entire ; so that had not that fatal Stroke brought his Days to a too early Period, he might probably have been very long liv'd.

At the time of his Father's coming to Court, the Duke of *Buckingham* (being then in great Favour with King *James*, and desiring to strengthen his Family with noble Alliances) agreed a Marriage betwixt him and the Lady *Mary Feilding*, Daughter to *William*, Earl of *Denbigh*, and the Lady *Susanna Villiers*, Sister to the Duke of *Buckingham*; upon which his Father sent for him to Court, to be married, when he himself was fourteen Years of Age, and the Lady design'd for him but seven. This broke off the Course of Studies, in which he had been educated till then in *Scotland*: And tho' he was sent afterwards to the University of *Oxford*, yet the Interruption that his Stay at Court put to his Education in Letters, was such, that he never recover'd it. After the Years of consummating the intended Marriage were come, he was forc'd to it, not without great Aversion, occasion'd partly by the Disproportion of their Ages, and partly by some other secret Considerations.

He lived with his Lady for some Years in no good Terms, and that concurring with other Motives, made him leave the Court upon his Father's Death: But her excellent Qualities did afterwards overcome that Aversion into as much Affection as he was capable of. She died the 10th of *May*, in the Year 1638, and left her Lord, a most sad and afflicted Person: And tho' his Spirit was too great to sink under any Burden, yet all his Life after he remembred her with much tender Affection. She died indeed in a good time for her own Repose, when her Lord was beginning to engage in the Affairs of *Scotland*, which prov'd so fatal both to his Quiet and Life.

But the Distractions of the following Years concurring with the affectionate Remembrance of his Lady, which rather increas'd than abated with

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Time ; kept him from the Thoughts of re-engaging in a married Life. Neither did the Death of his Sons shake him from that Purpose, since he had so noble a Successor secured for his Family in the Person of his Brother ; and next to him he had two Daughters, who were dear to him, far beyond the ordinary Rate of Children, on whom he got his Dignity and Fortune entail'd, in case his Brother died without Sons.

His Religion was Protestant and reform'd ; and as he was a zealous Enemy to Popery, so he was no less earnest for a good Correspondence among all the reformed Churches, in particular betwixt the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, and therefore was a great Patron and Promoter of the Designs of Mr. *Dury*, who bestow'd so much of his Travel, and so many of his Years in driving on that desir'd Union : For I find by many of *Dury's* Letters to him, that as he owed a great Part of his Subsistence to the Money and Places were procured for him by the Duke, both from the King and my Lord of *Canterbury* ; so his best Addresses to the *Swedish* Court, and the Princes of *Germany*, were those he had from him ; and therefore he continued giving him an Account of his Success, as to his Patron and Benefactor.

As for our unhappy Differences which have divided this Island, he judg'd neither the one nor the other worth the Blood was shed in the Quarrel ; and the Excess he had seen on both Hands, cured him from being a Zealot for either. He was dissatisfied with the Courses some of the Bishops had follow'd before the Troubles began, and could not but impute their first Rise to the Provocations had been given by them : But he was no less offended with the violent Spirits of most of the Covenanters, and particularly with their Opposition to Royal Authority. As long
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as the King employ'd him for the Preservation of Episcopacy, he serv'd him faithfully ; and tho' afterwards he pressed him much for his Consent to the Abolition of that Government in *Scotland*, it was not from any Prejudice himself had at it, but flowed only from the Affection he had to his Majesty, since he saw it could not have been preserv'd at that time, without very visible Hazard both to King and Country : And so he took the National Covenant at the King's Command, *Anno 1641*, in the Parliament of *Scotland*.

He was all his Life a great Honourer of true Piety wherever he saw it, notwithstanding any Mistakes that might have been mingled with it ; so that whatsoever particular Ground of Resentments he had at any who (he judged) fear'd God, the Consideration of that did overcome and stifle it : But his first Imprisonment in 1643, was the happiest time of his Life to him, for there he had a truer Prospect of Things set before him, which wrought a Change on him, discernable by those who knew him best. This made him frequently acknowledge God's great Goodness to him in that Restraint : For then he learnt to despise the foolish Pleasures of Sin, and the debasing Vanities of a false World, which had formerly possess'd too great a Room in his Thoughts. It is true, he chose to be religious in secret, and therefore gave no other Vent to it in his Discourse than what he judged himself obliged to, which was chiefly to his Children, to whom he always recommended the Fear and Love of God, as that wherein himself had found his only Joy and Repose. The following Words are a Part of one of his Letters to them, which he wrote a little before his last going to *England*.

“ In all Crosses, even of the highest Nature,
 “ there is no other Remedy but Patience, and
 “ with Alacrity to submit to the Good-will and
 “ Pleasure of our Glorious Creator, and be contented therewith ; which I advise you to learn
 “ in your tender Age, having enjoyed that Blessing my self, and found great Comfort in it
 “ while involved in the Middle of infinite Dangers.

He was a constant Reader of the Scriptures, and during his Imprisonment they were his only Companions, other Books being for a great while denied him ; and he making a Virtue of that Necessity, became a diligent and serious Reader of those Holy Oracles, and studied to take the Measures of his Actions from them, and not from the foolish Dreams and Conjectures of Astrology ; tho’ the enquiring after, and taking notice of these, be among the injurious Imputations Obloquy fastened upon him. But so far was he from any Regard to them, that an Astrologer coming to him in *Germany* with a Paper, wherein he said he should read a noble Fortune ; he, after he had sent him away, threw it into the Fire, without once opening it ; And indeed he was so far from flattering himself with the Hopes of great Success in any of his Undertakings, that he rather apprehended himself under some inauspicious Star, that crossed all his Attempts, which made him in his latter Years long for some secret Retirement out of the Noise of Business. And in his last Expedition into *England*, he was so far from promising himself great Matters, that the Night before he marched, when he was taking leave of one of his Friends, he said, he not only knew that such Attempts were doubtful, but apprehended that what he was then engaging in, might prove not only dangerous, but destructive to himself ; nevertheless

less he was resolved either to go thro' it successfully, or to perish in the Attempt, and never survive it; adding, that the last was what he look'd for, and therefore he took his Leave as never to meet again.

But notwithstanding all the Misfortunes that either lay upon him, or did hang over him, he preserved the greatest Calmness in his Mind that could be imagin'd: Which appear'd in an unclouded Serenity that dwelt always in his Looks, and discover'd him ever well pleas'd. And tho' the Greatness of his Mind, and the Sweetness of his natural Temper might have contributed much to that Tranquillity; yet certainly it took its Rise from another Source, and flow'd chiefly from his Confidence in God, and the Security he had in the Innocency of his own Heart.

His Accomplishments were great, tho' cultivated only by his own Thoughts, and improved by Experience; for he was no great Scholar, neither was he bred abroad: His Judgment was profound, his Foresight great, his Style was smooth and without Affectation, for he spoke with a Native Eloquence. One Advantage he had beyond all he engaged with in debating, that he was never fretted nor exasperated, and spake at the same Rate without Clamouring or Eagerness. He had seen so much of the Baseness of many Men, that it inclin'd him in the End to Jealousy, which made him reserved to most People; and of this I find divers complaining in their Letters.

For his Affection and Duty to his Prince, it hath appeared so much in his History, that little remains to be said in his Character. It is true, some were pleas'd to say, that he treated with foreign Princes, for seconding him in his own Pretensions to the Crown of *Scotland*: But this Forgery was so ill-grounded, that he had signal Proofs to the

contrary. When he first engaged in the *German* Design, one wrote to him from the *Spanish* Court in the Name of the Ministers of that Monarch, making him great Promises if he would desist from it : But his Answer was, that Duty, Gratitude, and Inclination concurred to tie him inseparably to his Master's Interests, and that no Consideration either of Hope or Fear, was able to shake him from his Fidelity to them. Neither did any thing obstruct his being more employ'd and trusted in *Germany*, than his constant adhering to the King's Pleasure and Interest ; for had he given himself up to the Will of the *Swedish* King, he would have been quickly put in another Capacity, and might have had about him one of the best Armies in *Germany* ; since all the *Scotish* Officers, who at that time were many and considerable, inclin'd to have form'd an Army apart, and served under him, had the King of *Sweden* given way to it.

When he was claiming his Estate and Rights of *Chastleherault* in *France*, Cardinal *Richelieu* appointed Sir *James Hamilton*, whom he had sent over to negotiate that Affair, to tell him, that he should be not only settled in that, but have more likewise, if he would enter into a close Correspondence with him, and be a faithful Servant to the *French* Crown. His Answer was, that he ow'd indeed the greatest Duty and Dependance to the King of *France*, of any Prince next his own King ; and therefore would faithfully serve all his Interests after the King's. But nothing was to be expected from him that might, upon any Consideration, prejudice his Master's Service, neither would he engage in any Correspondence without his Knowledge and Allowance ; adding, that he was confident his Eminence was too faithful a Minister to that Monarch whom he served, to
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like him the worse for his Honesty to his own Master. These Instances will evince how far he was from pretending to any Interests in his Correspondence with Foreign Princes, different from the King's, whom he served with as much Affection as Duty. And indeed the Love he bore his Person, was no less than the Duty he paid to his Authority, for he did not deny but the former made him digest some things, which perhaps otherwise he had not borne so well. This kept him far from vilifying his Majesty's Person, or speaking unhandsomely of him, as some accus'd him. It may be suppos'd, that had he been guilty of that, it would have appear'd more to his Friends than Strangers, since Prudence would have taught a reserve to them, tho' Duty had not enjoin'd it: But those who conversed most with him, saw so much of his Affection and Esteem for that Prince, that many of them have told the Writer [*Dr. Burnet*] he was the furthest from it that could be, since he studied by all Means to infuse that Value in others for him, which possess'd his own Mind. It is true, his Calmness made many, who knew not how natural that Temper was to him, suspect he was not in earnest, because he did not bluster out in Heats of Passion, upon every Occasion; for as he was not easily inflam'd, so he could not well personate a Passion when he was free of it. All his Advices to the King were for settling Matters without hazarding on a bloody Decision, knowing well, that no Quarrels are so mortal, as those that follow upon the closest Ties; therefore he was far from acting that infamous Office of Incendiary, which some fastned on him. And it was his suggesting and pressing gentler Methods, which engaged some fiery Spirits into such Opposition to him; and from hence it was, that when he was put to a Review of those Advices he

he offer'd to his Majesty ; he said, He would not study to justify them all, since he was far from the Vanity of magnifying his own Counsels ; but all he could answer for, was his good Intention, which was not to be measur'd by Success.

As for his disclosing the King's Designs to his Enemies, Hell could have devised nothing farther from Truth : For not only does the Silence of all his Letters that are in my Hands refute that ; but when some afterwards, who had been leading Men in the Covenant, broke with him, with such Animosity, and when by some of those much Pains was taken to possess the King with Jealousies of him, it is not to be doubted, but if there had been a Shadow of Truth for those Imputations, some Particular would have appear'd, or some Letters had been preserv'd to have justify'd these Insinuations. But nothing was so much as ever pretended for this, beyond Whispers and general Stories.

If all his Friends were not at all times so fixed to their Duty as they ought to have been, that left no Blame upon him ; for no Man can be liable for his Friends, nor charg'd with the Faults of other Men : But when any of them strayed from their Duty, his Friendship made him not the less, but the more severe to them ; and many of them being yet alive, have witnessed with what honest Zeal he always studied to engage them to a cordial Adherence to the King's Service. But to sum up all, those, who after they see how, in his last Speech, deliver'd at his Death, he begs Pardon and Mercy from God, as he hath been a faithful Servant to his Master, and do still retain their Jealousies, are beyond the Cure of any Persuasion ; for none but a desperate Atheist could have adventur'd so far with a defiled Conscience. Neither can it be alledged here, that all in those
Times

Times pretended to be for the King : For perhaps many thought the Methods they took were the best for securing and settling his Throne. But had the Duke been faulty, as the World accus'd him, it must not have been a Mistake in his Thoughts, but a Crookedness of his Heart, a betraying of his Trust, and a falsifying of his Engagements : And who can suppose that the Parties, who were prevalent both in *England* and *Scotland* at the time of his Death, and pursued him and his Memory with all the Excesses of Malice, would not have discover'd such Treachery, to load him with the greater Infamy, if there had been any Grounds for it, since they were the Persons who must have known it best ?

As for that ridiculous and devilish Forgery of his pretending to the Crown of *Scotland*, never any were alledged to have heard a Hint of it from himself, no not in Raillery ; and certainly if so great a Design had ever been discover'd to any Person, it must have been to his Friends, and he must have taken Pains to have made some Party sure for it : But for this nothing was ever whisper'd but Surmises, and those hanging so ill together, that they retain'd not so much as the Shadow of Probability.

For his Country, as he had as great Interest in it as any Subject, so his Affection yielded to none : And it is certain, that if his Counsels to the King seem at any time to fall short of the higher Ways of Authority, nothing but his Affection to his Country gave him the Biass ; for he confessed, the thing in the World at which he had the greatest Horror, was the engaging in a Civil War with his Countrymen.

He was far from any Designs of engrossing either Power or Places of Advantage to himself, and his Friends ; nor was he ever the Occasion of
any

any Burden to the Country ; for the Assignments he had upon some Taxations, were only for Payment of the Debts he had contracted by his Majesty's Command for his Expedition to *Germany*. And so little fond was he of being the King's Commissioner in *Scotland*, that in divers of his Letters he propos'd others to his Majesty for that Trust, protesting it was a Place of all other he hated most ; and when he saw Jealousies taken at his being in that Trust, as if the King had been to govern *Scotland* by a Commissioner, he pressed his Majesty to change him ; so careful was he to avoid every thing which might be a Grievance to his Country, and retard the King's Service.

He was the great Patron of *Scotish Men* in the Court, which drew, on several Occasions, a large Share of Malice upon him : As appear'd particularly in the Case of one Colonel *Lesley*, whom Colonel *Sanderson's* Friends were pursuing in the Court, alledging that *Lesley* had kill'd that Colonel unworthily in *Muscovia*. The Crime was not committed in the King's Dominions, and *Lesley* was legally acquitted of it in *Russia*, who upon a national Account, being a *Scotish Man*, laid Claim to the Duke's Protection ; but this irritated Colonel *Sanderson's* Brother (who pretends to have written *The History of King Charles I.*) into so much Rage against him, that forgetting the Laws of History, he breaks out, on all Occasions, into the most passionate Railings, that his spiteful, but blunt and impotent Malice could devise. And the best of all is, he bewrays his Ignorance as well as his Passion, in all the Accounts he gives of the *Scotish* Affairs ; so that it is hard to say, whether his Folly in attempting to write a History on such slender Informations, or his Impudence in forging or venting Lies with such Confidence, deserves the severer Censure.

And since I mention this *Lesley*, I shall only add, that tho' *Sanderson* tells a formal Story of the signal Judgments of God on him in his Death, he was alive many Years after that Book was publish'd, which can be well proved by many who knew him.

The Duke was very sumptuous and magnificent in his Way of Living, but abhorred that debauch'd Custom of Entertainments by Drinking, and was an Example of Temperance; which cost him dear in *Denmark*, where he refusing the ordinary Entertainments of that Court in Drinking, was not only ill us'd, but made to pay a great Sum, under the Pretence of Passage-dues: Temperance was particularly recommended to him by his Majesty, when he went to *Germany*; and his returning from that Court without transgressing these Laws, was such an Evidence of his observing them, that afterwards few would tempt him to those Excesses.

Of all Virtues he esteem'd Ingenuity and Candor most, as that which was the Ground of all Confidence, and the only Security among Men; and therefore recommended it chiefly to others, and studied to observe it most himself. I confess, when I consider his whole Method of framing and carrying on his Designs, how strait and candid they were; if I oft admire his Invention, I do much more esteem the Ingenuity of his Proceedings: for I never find him veiling Truth with a Lie, nor carrying on Business with a Cheat: And to speak freely, the greatest departing from these Rules appear'd in the Declaration emitted in *April*, 1648; where, among other Things, the Parliament declar'd, They would not admit his Majesty to the Exercise of his Royal Authority, till he by Oath obliged himself to swear, and ratify the Covenant. The Duke stuck long e're he would

would give way to this ; at length finding the violent Party that crossed the Engagement implacable ; and being desirous to withdraw from them all Colours or Pretences for opposing that Design, he yielded to it ; and at that time said to a Friend of his, that the Preservation of the King went so near his Heart, that he could refuse nothing which might make way for that. But it was far from his Thoughts to seclude the King from the Exercise of his Royal Power, and therefore it was excused at the same time, both by the Letters his Brother wrote to the King, and in the Instructions sent by Sir *William Fleeming* to the Queen and Prince, and by Sir *William Bellenden* to the Prince of *Orange*. I have also a Journal, which he took with his own Hand, of what passed in that Parliament, wherein he wrote, when that Act was put to the Vote, that (though he gave his Vote to it) it was not his Opinion. And thus I lay open both his Fault, and the Temptation that led him to it, so that if ever any officious Lie was of a venial Guilt, sure this was : Yet who knows, if among the many and wise Councils, for which God might have permitted that Army's Miscarriage, as a Punishment for our other Sins, we not being ripe for a Deliverance, this departing from the severe Rules of Ingenuity and Virtue might not have been one procuring Cause ? But this is the only Instance of this Nature I have met with, in the whole Survey of his Actions and Papers.

As for the Mildness and Gentleness of his Nature, no Day went over him without giving new Discoveries of it. For it was very hard to provoke him, but no less easy to appease him : He was not unequal in his Humor, but as one left him they found him, being always chearful and ever the same. And whatever Aspirings might

have been in his Mind, his Carriage was the freest of Haughtiness that could be, both to Equals and Inferiors: He was both easy to address to, and affable in his Converse; and labour'd to oblige all People. And in his Command he was far from the common Practice of many, who are very careful to raise all the Money they can, and to oppress the Countries where they march or quarter. It is true, the Earl of *Calander* did draw as much Money as possible from the Places they pass'd through with their Army, but the Duke would meddle with none of it: And when *Calander* offer'd 450 Pounds to his Steward, he would not touch it till he spoke with his Master; who charg'd him strictly not to meddle with it, and acknowledg'd he had done like a faithful Servant in not taking it.

It was so impossible for him to resent Injuries, that when some of his Vassals had offended him, so that he was resolved to make them sensible of it whenever it lay in his way, it no sooner came to be so, but their first Address broke through all his Displeasure: And never did the settled Composure of his Mind appear more than at *Utoxeter*, when in the midst of all that Disorder he preserved his usual Temper. The Generosity of his Mind made him so tender towards all in Trouble, even though deserved, that he was scarce capable of punishing any even for their Faults.

The Execution of the Lord CAPEL, the 9th of March, 1649.

THE Lord *Capel* being call'd to his Execution, he walk'd through *Westminster-Hall*, saluting such of his Friends and Acquaintance as he saw there, with a very serene Countenance, accompanied with his Friend *Dr. Morley*, who had

had been with him from the time of his Sentence : But at the Foot of the Scaffold, the Soldiers stopping the Doctor, his Lordship took his Leave of him, and embracing him, thank'd him, and said he should go no further, having an Apprehension he might receive some Affront from that rude People after his Death. (The Chaplains, who attended Duke *Hamilton* and the Earl of *Holland*, being Men of the Times, and the Doctor being well known to be most contrary.) *Clar. Hist. Vol. 3. p. 272.*

As soon as his Lordship had ascended the Scaffold, he said he came not as the two former [Duke *Hamilton* and the Earl of *Holland*] attended with a Minister, having before prepar'd his way for Death; and advancing to the Front of the Scaffold, he made the following Speech.

Gentlemen,

The Conclusion that I made with those that sent me hither, and are the Cause of this violent Death of mine, shall be the beginning of what I shall say to you : When I made an Address to them (which was the last) I told them with much Sincerity, that I would pray to the God of all Mercies that they might be Partakers of his inestimable and boundless Mercies in Jesus Christ; and truly, I still pray that Prayer; and I beseech the God of Heaven to forgive any Injury they have done to me, from my Soul I wish it, and truly this I tell you as a Christian, to let you see I am a Christian; but it is necessary I should tell you somewhat more, that I am a Protestant, and truly I am a Protestant, and very much in love with the Profession of it, after the manner it was establish'd in *England* by the 39 Articles, a blessed way of Profession, and such a one as truly I never knew none so good : I am so far from being

a Papist, which some have very unworthily charg'd me withal, that truly I profess to you, that tho' I love good Works, and commend good Works, yet I hold they have nothing at all to do in the Matter of Salvation. My Anchor-hold is this, That Christ loved me and gave himself for me; that is that I rest upon. And truly something I shall say to you as a Citizen of the whole World, and in that Consideration I am here condemn'd to die, contrary to the Law that governs all the World, that is, the Law of the Sword: I had the Protection of that for my Life and the Honour of it; but I will not trouble you much with this Discourse, because in another Place I have spoken very largely and liberally of it; I believe you will hear by other means what Arguments I us'd in that Case. But truly that that is stranger, you that are *Englishmen*, behold here an *Englishman* now before you, and acknowledg'd a Peer, not condemn'd to die by any Law of *England*. Nay, shall I tell you more, which is strangest of all, contrary to all the Laws of *England* which I know of? And truly I will tell you, in the Matter of the civil Part of my Death, and the Cause that I have maintain'd; I die, I take it, for maintaining the fifth Commandment, enjoin'd by God himself, which enjoins Reverence and Obedience to Parents. All Divines, on all hands, tho' they contradict one another in many several Opinions, yet most Divines do acknowledge that here is intended Magistracy and Order; and certainly I have obey'd that Magistracy and that Order under which I have liv'd, which I was bound to obey; and truly, I do say very confidently, that I do die here for keeping, for obeying that fifth Commandment given by God himself, and written by his own Finger. And now, Gentlemen, I will take this Opportunity to tell you,

you, that I cannot imitate a better, nor a greater Ingenuity, than his that said of himself; *For suffering an unjust Judgment upon another, himself was brought to suffer by an unjust Judgment.* Truly, Gentlemen, that God may be glorified, that all Men that are concern'd in it may take the Occasion of it, of humble Repentance to God Almighty for it; I do here profess to you, that truly I did give my Vote to that Bill of the Earl of *Strafford*; I doubt not but God Almighty hath wash'd that away with a more precious Blood, that is, with the Blood of his Son, and my dear Saviour, Jesus Christ; and I hope he will wash it away from all those that are guilty of it. Truly, this I may say, I had not the least part, nor the least degree of Malice in the doing of it: But I must confess again to God's Glory, and the Accusation of my own Frailty, and the Frailty of my Nature, that truly it was an unworthy Cowardize not to resist so great a Torrent as carried that Business at that time. And truly this I think I am most guilty of, but Malice I had none; but whatsoever it was, God, I am sure, hath pardon'd it, hath given me the Assurance of it, that Christ Jesus his Blood hath wash'd it away; and truly I do from my Soul wish that all Men that have any Stain by it may seriously repent, and receive a Remission and Pardon from God for it. And now, Gentlemen, we have had an Occasion, by this Intimation, to remember his Majesty, our King that last was; and I cannot speak of him, or think of it, but I must needs say, that, in my Opinion, that have had time to consider all the Images of all the greatest and most virtuous Princes in the World; and truly, in my Opinion, there was not a more virtuous and more sufficient Prince known in the World than our gracious King *Charles*, that died last: God Almighty preserve our King that now

is, his Son; God send him more fortunate and longer Days, God Almighty so assist him, that he may exceed both the Virtues and Sufficiencies of his Father; for certainly, I that have been a Councillor to him, and have liv'd long with him, and in a time when Discovery is easily enough made, for he was young (about 15 or 16 Years of Age) those Years I was with him, truly I never saw greater Hopes of Virtue in any young Person than in him: Great Judgment, great Understanding, strong Apprehensions, much Honour in his Nature, and truly a very perfect *Englishman* in his Inclinations. I pray God restore him to this Kingdom, and unite the Kingdoms one to another, to the Happiness both of you and him, that he may long live and reign among you; and that that Family may reign till thy Kingdom come; that is, while all temporal Power is consummated: I beseech God of his Mercy give much Happiness to this your King, and to you that in it shall be his Subjects, by the Grace of Jesus Christ.

Truly, I like my Beginning so well, that I will make my Conclusion with it, that is, that God Almighty would confer, of his infinite and inestimable Grace and Mercy, to those that are the Causes of my coming hither; I pray God give them as much Mercy as their own Hearts can wish; for my part, I will not accuse any one of them of Malice, truly I will not; nay, I will not think there was any Malice in them; what other Ends there are I know not, nor I will not examine, but let it be what it will, from my very Soul I forgive them every one; and so the Lord of Heaven bless you all, God Almighty be infinite in Goodness and Mercy to you, and direct you in those ways of Obedience to his Commands to his Majesty, that this Kingdom may be

be a happy and glorious Nation again, and that your King may be an happy King in so good and so obedient a People; God Almighty keep you all, God Almighty preserve this Kingdom, God Almighty preserve you all.

Then he call'd for the Executioner, to whom he gave five Pounds, and said, I not only forgive thee from my Soul, but desire God to give thee Grace for a better Employment. *And having stood still a while, he said,* God Almighty stanch this Blood, God Almighty stanch, stanch, stanch, this Issue of Blood, this will not do the Business, God Almighty find out another way to do it. Having taken leave of his Friends and Servants, he betook himself to his Prayers; and upon a Sign given, the Executioner sever'd his Head from his Body.

HIS FAMILY.

The Lord *Capel* was Son and Heir of Sir *Arthur Capel* of *Hadham-Hall* in *Hertfordshire* (descended from Sir *William Capel*, Lord Mayor of *London*, Anno 1504, 20 *Hen. VII.*) He was advanced to the Dignity of Baron of the Realm, by the Title of Lord *Capel* of *Hadham*, Anno 1641, 17 *Car. I.* He put himself in Arms, and raised some Troops of Horse for his Majesty's Service, at his own Charge, during the Rebellion. The King being a Prisoner in the Isle of *Wight*, he endeavour'd, with what Strength he could raise, to rescue him; but miscarrying, suffer'd Death for the glorious Attempt. *Coll. Hist. Dict.*

Nothing can better discover the Sedateness and Composure of this Gentleman's Mind, when he was about to lay his Head upon the Block, than the Dialogue between his Lordship and the Executioner, which was prov'd at *Hulet's Tryal*, part whereof is hereafter inserted, viz.

Lord *Capel*. Was't thou the Man that cut off the King my Master's Head? Ex-

Executioner. Yes, God forgive me, and this was the Ax.

Then the Lord Capel took the Ax and kiss'd it.

Lord Capel. And, Sirrah, wer't thou not afraid?

Executioner. They made me cut it off, and gave me thirty Pounds for my Pains. See *Tryals of the Regicides*, Fol. Ed. Vol. 1. p. 913. 8vo Ed. p. 750.

LORD CAPEL'S CHARACTER.

His Death, says the Lord *Clarendon*, depriv'd the Nation of the noblest Champion it had. He was a Man in whom the Malice of his Enemies could discover very few Faults, and whom his Friends could not wish better accomplish'd; whom *Cromwell's* own Character well describ'd, and who, indeed, *would never have been contented to live under that Government.* His Memory all Men lov'd and reverenc'd, tho' few follow'd his Example; he had always liv'd in a State of great Plenty and general Estimation, having a very noble Fortune of his own by Descent, and a fair Addition to it by his Marriage, with an excellent Wife, a Lady of very worthy Extraction, of great Virtue and Beauty, by whom he had a numerous Issue of both Sexes, in which he took great Joy and Comfort; so that no Man was more happy in all his Domestick Affairs; and he was so much the more happy, in that he thought himself most blessed in them.

And yet the King's Honour was no sooner violated, and his just Power invaded, than he threw all those Blessings behind him; and having no other Obligations to the Crown, than those which his Honour and Conscience suggested to him, he frankly engag'd his Person and his Fortune,

tune, from the Beginning of the Troubles, as many others did, in all Actions and Enterprizes of the greatest Hazard and Danger, and continued to the End without ever making one false Step, as few others did, though he had once, by the Iniquity of a Faction that then prevail'd, an Indignity put upon him, that might have excus'd him for some Remission of his former Warmth. But it made no other Impression upon him, than to be quiet and contented, whilst they would let him alone, and with the same Cheerfulness to obey the first Summons when he was call'd out, which was quickly after.

In a Word, he was a Man, that whoever shall after him deserve best of the *English* Nation, he can never think himself undervalued, when he shall hear that his Courage, Virtue and Fidelity, are laid in the Ballance with, and compar'd to those of my Lord Capel. *Clar. Hist. Vol. 3. p. 273.*

LILBURNES'S CHARACTER, *who was try'd Anno 1649.*

JOHN Lilburne, before the Troubles, was a poor Bookbinder, and for procuring some seditious Pamphlets, against the Church and State, to be printed and dispersed, was severely sentenc'd by the Star-Chamber, and receiv'd a sharp Castigation, which made him still more obstinate and malicious against the Government: And, as he afterwards confess'd, in the Melancholy of his Imprisonment, and by reading the Book of Martyrs, he rais'd in himself a marvellous Inclination and Appetite to suffer in the Defence, or for the Vindication of any oppress'd Truth, and found himself very much confirm'd in that Spirit; and in that time diligently collected and read all those Libels and Books which had antiently, as well as lately been written

written against the Church ; from whence, with their Venom, he had likewise contracted the Impudence and Bitterness of their Stile ; and, by Practice, brought himself to the Faculty of writing like them. : And so when that Licence broke in, of printing all that Malice and Wit could suggest, he publish'd some Pamphlets in his own Name, full of that Confidence and Virulency, which might asperse the Government most, to the Sense of the People, and to their Humour. When the War began, he put himself into the Army, and was taken Prisoner by the King's Forces in that Engagement at *Brentford*, shortly after the Battle of *Edge-hill* ; and being then a Man much known and talk'd of for his Qualities above-mention'd, he was not so well treated in Prison as was like to reconcile him ; and being brought before the Chief Justice to be tried for Treason by a Commission of *Oyer and Terminer* (in which Method the King intended then to have proceeded against the Rebels which should be taken) he behav'd himself with so great Impudence in extolling the Power of the Parliament, that it was manifest he had an Ambition to have been made a Martyr for that Cause. But as he was liberally supplied from his Friends at *London*, (and the Parliament in expresse Terms declar'd that they would inflict Punishment upon the Prisoners they had of the King's Party, in the same manner as *Lilburne* and the rest should suffer at *Oxford*) so he did find Means to corrupt the Marshal who had the Custody of him, and made his Escape into the Parliament Quarters ; where he was receiv'd with publick Joy, as a Champion that had defy'd the King in his own Court. From this time he was entertain'd by *Cromwell* with great Familiarity, and in his Contests with the Parliament was of much Use to him, and Privacy with him.

him. But he began then to find him of so restless and unruly a Spirit, and to make those Advances in Religion against the *Presbyterians*, before he thought it seasonable ; that he dispens'd with his Presence in the Army, where he was an Officer of Name, and made him reside in *London*, where he wish'd that Temper should be improv'd. And when the Parliament was so much offended with his seditious Humour, and the Pamphlets he publish'd every Day in Religion, with Reflections upon their Proceedings, that they resolv'd to prosecute him with great Vigour (towards which the Assembly of Divines, which he had likewise provok'd, contributed their Desire and Demand) *Cromwell* writ a very passionate Letter to the Parliament, that they would not so much discourage their Army, that was fighting for them, as to censure an Officer of it for his Opinion in Point of Conscience, for the Liberty whereof, and to free themselves from the Shackles in which the Bishops would enslave them, that Army had been principally rais'd.

Upon which all further Prosecution against *Lilburne* was declin'd at that time, tho' he declin'd not the further Provocation, and continu'd to make the Proceedings of the Parliament as odious as he could. But from the time that *Cromwell* had dispers'd that Parliament, and was in effect in Possession of the Sovereign Power, *Lilburne* withdrew his Favour for him, and thought him now an Enemy worthy of his Displeasure, and both in Discourses and Writings, in Pamphlets and Invectives, loaded him with all the Aspersions of Hypocrisy, Lying and Tyranny, and all other Imputations and Reproaches, which either he deserv'd, or the Malice or Bitterness of the other's Nature could suggest to him, to make him the most universally odious, that a faithless perjurd Person could be.

Cromwell

Cromwell could bear ill Language and Reproaches with less Disturbance and Concern than any Person in Authority had ever done ; yet the Prosecution this Man exercis'd him with, made him plainly discern that it would be impossible to preserve his Dignity, or to have any Security in the Government while this Licence continu'd ; and therefore, after he had set Spies upon him to observe his Actions, and collect his Words, and upon Advice with the Council at Law of the State, was confidently inform'd, that as well by the old establish'd Laws, as by new Ordinances, *Lilburne* was guilty of High Treason, and had forfeited his Life if he were prosecuted in any Court of Justice ; he caus'd him to be sent to *Newgate*, and at the next Sessions to be indicted of High Treason : All the Judges being present, and the Council at Law to enforce the Evidence, and all Care being taken to return such a Jury as might be fit for the Importance of the Case ; *Lilburne* appear'd undaunted, and with the Confidence of a Man that was to play a Prize before the People for their own Liberty, he pleaded Not guilty, and heard all the Charge and Evidence against him with Patience enough, save that by interrupting the Lawyers sometimes who prosecuted him, and by sharp Answers to some Questions of the Judges, he shew'd that he had no Reverence for their Persons, nor any Submission to their Authority. The whole Day was spent in his Tryal, and when he came to make his Defence, he mingled so much Law in his Discourse to invalidate their Authority, and to make it appear so tyrannical, that neither their Lives, Liberties, or Estates, were in any Degree secure whilst that Usurpation was exercis'd, and answer'd all the Matters objected against him with such an Assurance, making them to contain nothing of High Treason, and that to be

be a Government against which High Treason could not be committed. He defended himself with that Vigour, and charm'd the Jury so powerfully, that, against all the Direction and Charge the Judges could give them (who assur'd them that the Words and Actions fully prov'd against the Prisoner were High Treason by the Law, and that they were bound by all the Obligations of Conscience to find him guilty) after no long Consultation between themselves, they return'd with their Verdict that he was *Not guilty*, nor could they be perswaded by the Judges to change or recede from their Verdict, which infinitely enrag'd and perplex'd *Cromwell*, who look'd upon it as a greater Defeat than the Loss of a Battle would have been. And tho' *Lilburne* was acquitted on another Prosecution in the Year 1653, yet *Cromwell* would never suffer him to be set at Liberty, as by Law he ought to have been, but sent him from Prison to Prison, and kept him enclos'd there till he himself died. *Clar. Vol. III. 503.*

Dr. Nalson sums up the Character of *John Lilburne* in few Words: He says, He was a Man of a restless, boiling and unwearied Spirit, condemn'd by his ungovernable Temper to perpetual Troubles and Quarrels with his Superiors, and always opposing himself to the Power that was uppermost. *Nalson's Col. Vol. I. 512.* After his second Tryal, being imprison'd by the Protector in *Dover Castle*, he there met with some of the Sect of the *Quakers*, who brought him over to their Opinions, in which he continu'd to his Death, and his Body was convey'd by the Brethren to their Meeting-house at the *Bull and Mouth* in *London*, where it was put into a plain Coffin, without any Covering, and from thence was carried with the Head forwards (in Opposition to the ancient superstitious

perstitious Custom) to the new Church-yard by *Bethlem*, where it was interr'd.

The Execution of Mr. CHRISTOPHER LOVE,
August 22, 1651.

MR. *Love* was brought from the Tower by the Sheriffs of *London* to the Scaffold on *Tower-hill*, about two a-clock in the Afternoon: The Ministers that accompanied him were Mr. *Ash*, Mr. *Calamy*, and Mr. *Manton*. When he was upon the Scaffold, Sheriff *Titchburn* shewed him the Warrant for his Suffering, telling him, that he took no Pleasure in this Work, but it was a Duty laid upon him. Mr. *Love*, I believe it, Sir. Sheriff *Titchburn*, I have done my Duty for you. Mr. *Love*, The Lord bless you.

Lieutenant of the Tower, The Lord strengthen you in this Hour of your Temptation. Mr. *Love*, Sir, I bless God, my Heart is in Heaven, I am well. Then turning to Sheriff *Titchburn*, he said, May I have the Liberty to speak and pray? Sheriff *Titchburn*, Yes: But I desire you to consider, we have the other [meaning Mr. *Gibbons*] too execute afterwards, and six a-clock is our Hour; but we will give you as much time as we can. Mr. *Love*, I shall be the briefer. Then he put off his Hat two several times to the People, and spake as followeth:

Beloved Christians,

I am made this Day a Spectacle unto God, Angels, and Men: And among Men, I am made a Grief to the Godly, a Laughing-stock to the Wicked, and a Gazing-stock to all; yet blessed be my God, not a Terror to myself. Altho' there be but little between me and Death; yet this bears up my Heart, there is but little between
me

me and Heaven. It comforted *Dr. Taylor*, the Martyr, when he was going to Execution, that there were but two Stiles between him and his Father's House ; there is a lesser Way between me and my Father's House ; but two Steps between me and Glory ; it is but lying down upon the Block, and I shall ascend upon a Throne. I am this Day sailing towards the Ocean of Eternity, thro' a rough Passage to my Haven of Rest ; thro' a Red Sea to the promised Land. Methinks I hear God say to me as he did to *Moses*, *Go up to Mount Nebo, and die there* : So to me, *Go up to Tower-hill, and die there*. *Isaac* said of himself, that he was old, and yet he knew not the Day of his Death ; but I cannot say so, I am young, and yet I know the Day of my Death, and I know the kind of my Death, and the Place of my Death also. I am put to such a kind of Death as two famous Preachers of the Gospel were put to before me, *John* the Baptist, and *Paul* the Apostle, they were both beheaded ; you have Mention of the one in Scripture Story, and of the other in Ecclesiastical History. And I read in *Rev. 20. 4.* *The Saints were beheaded for the Word of God, and for the Testimony of Jesus* : But herein is the Disadvantage which I lie under in the Thoughts of many, they judge that I suffer not for the Word of God, or for Conscience, but for meddling with State Matters. To this I shall briefly say, That it is an old Guise of the Devil, to impute the Cause of God's Peoples Sufferings, to be Contrivements against the State, when in Truth it is their Religion and Conscience they are persecuted for : The Rulers of *Israel* would have put *Jeremy* to Death upon a civil Account, tho' indeed it was only the Truth of his Prophecy that made the Rulers angry with him ; and yet upon a civil Account they pretend he must die, be-

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cause

cause he fell away to the *Chaldeans*, and would have brought in foreign Forces to invade them : The same thing is laid to my Charge, of which I am as innocent as *Jeremy* was. Yea, I find other Instances in Scripture, wherein the Cause of the Saints Sufferings were still imputed to their meddling with State Matters. *Paul*, tho' he did but preach Jesus Christ, yet he must die, if the People might have their Will, under Pretence that he was a Mover of Sedition. Upon a civil Account my Life is pretended to be taken away, whereas indeed it is because I pursue my Covenant, and will not prostitute my Principles and Conscience to the Ambition and Lusts of Men. Beloved, I am this Day making a double Exchange, I am changing a Pulpit for a Scaffold, and a Scaffold for a Throne ; and I might add a third, I am changing this numerous Multitude, the Presence of this numerous Multitude on *Tower-hill*, for the innumerable Company of Saints and Angels in Heaven, the holy Hill of *Sion* ; and I am changing a Guard of Soldiers for a Guard of Angels, which will receive me, and carry me into *Abraham's Bosom*. This Scaffold is the best Pulpit that ever I preach'd in ; in my Church-Pulpit, God thro' his Grace made me an Instrument to bring others to Heaven ; but in this Pulpit he will bring me to Heaven. These are the last Words that I shall speak in this World, and it may be I shall bring more Glory to God by this one Speech on a Scaffold, than I have done by many Sermons in a Pulpit.

Before I lay down my Neck upon the Block, I shall lay open my Cause unto the People that hear me this Day, that I might not die under all that Obloquy and Reproach that is cast upon me ; and in doing it, I shall avoid all Rancor, all Bitterness of Spirit, Animosity and Revenge ; God

is my Record, whom I serve in the Spirit; I speak the Truth, and lie not; I do not bring a revengeful Heart unto the Scaffold. This Day, before I came here, upon my bended Knees I have beg'd Mercy for them that denied Mercy to me, and I have prayed God to forgive them who would not forgive me; I have forgiven from my Heart the worst Enemy I have in all the World; and this is the worst that I wish to my Accusers and Prosecutors, who have pursued my Blood, that I might meet their Souls in Heaven.

I shall divide my Speech into three Parts: I shall speak something concerning my Charge, and a Word concerning my Accusers and touching my Judges, without any Animosity at all; and then something concerning myself, for my own Vindication, and then a Word of Exhortation, and so I shall commit my Soul to God.

Concerning my Charge, it is black and hideous, many things falsely suggested, hardly a Line of it true, and nothing Capital sufficiently prov'd against me by any one Act that I am conscious to myself I did. The Charge is high and full, but the Proof empty and low; tho' there were eight Witnesses that came in against me, yet none of them did prove that ever I writ any Letter, or directed any Man to write a Letter into *Scotland*, or into foreign Parts; no Man did prove that I sent away any Letter, that I received any Letter, that I collected or gave, or lent any Money to assist or promote the *Scotish* War: This is all that is sworn against me, that I was present where Letters were read, and that I made a Motion for Money to give to *Massey*; so that (Beloved) my Presence at, and Concealment of Letters that were receiv'd and sent from foreign Parts, is that for which I must die.

As concerning my Accusers, I shall not say much ; I do forgive them with all my Heart, and I pray God forgive them also. Yet what the Evangelist said concerning Christ's Accusers, I may (without Vanity or Falshood) say of mine, That they did not agree amongst themselves : One Witness swears one thing, and another the quite contrary ; yea, not only did they contradict one another, but sometimes a single Witness contradicted himself. And tho' their Testimony did condemn my Person, yet I have condemned their Testimony. And truly there are many remarkable Circumstances that I might take notice of, either in, or before, or since the Trial, that might be worthy Observation ; but I will not insist upon it, only in the general (for I shall name none of my Accusers) some of them have sent to me, to pray me to forgive them the Wrong they have done me : And one of them hath written to me under his own Hand, to pray me to forgive him the Wrong that he hath done me ; and told me withal, that that Day I should die a violent Death, his Life would be no Comfort to him, because he was an Instrument in taking away of mine. Others of the Witnesses were some terrified before they would testify ; some were hired, some fined before they would bear Witness against me. But I will be off of this. As concerning my Judges, I will not judge them, and yet I will not justify them : I will say but this of them, I believe that what moved *Herod* to cut off *John* Baptist's Head, that moved them to cut off mine ; and that was for his Oath's sake : *Herod*, to avoid Perjury, would commit Murder ; whereas if *John's* Head had been upon his Shoulders, he would have been guilty of neither.

I have

I have something in the second Place to speak concerning myself, and then I shall come briefly to a Conclusion. Concerning myself, I have gone thro' various Reports; there are many Sons of Slander, whose Mouths are as open Sepulchres, in which they would bury my Name, before my Friends can bury my Body; but my Comfort is, there will be a Resurrection of Names as well as Bodies at the last Day: God will not only wipe off all Tears from my Eyes this Day, but he will also wipe off all Blots and Reproaches from my Name before many Days be over; and tho' my Body will soon rot under Ground, yet my Hope is, my Name will not rot above it. I am not ignorant what Calumnies are cast upon me, and more likely to be after I am dead and gone. The very Night before my intended Execution, the last Month, there was an insulting Letter written to me, to tell me, that after my Death there should be something publish'd against me to my Shame. I hope you will have so much Charity as not to believe Reproaches cast upon a dead Man, who will be silent in the Grave, and not able to speak a Word in his own Justification. I am aspersed both as to my Practice, and as to my Principles. I shall begin with the first. There are five Aspersions, as to my Practice, that are laid upon me, That I am a Liar, an Extortioner, an Adulterer, a Murderer, and a turbulent Person: Crimes scandalous in any Man, but much more abominable in a Minister. Now I hope you will believe a dying Man, who dares not look God in the Face with a Lie in his Mouth: I am accus'd of lying, that what I denied before the High Court of Justice, that that afterwards I should confess, or else was proved against me. Now in the Presence of God I tell you, as I would confess nothing that was criminal, so I did deny no-

thing that was true ; and that I may seal it to you with my Blood, the same Protestations I made before the High Court, I shall make briefly now. 1. That I never writ Letter to the King, Queen, Church or State of *Scotland*, or to any particular Person of the *Scotish* Nation, since the Wars began, to this Day. 2. That I never received any Letter writ to me, either from the King, or from the Queen, or from the Church or State of *Scotland*, or from any particular Person of the *Scotish* Nation, since the Wars began, to this Day. 3. That I never collected, gave or lent one Penny of Money, either to the King, Queen, Church or State of *Scotland*, or to any particular Person to send into *Scotland*, to any Person of the *Scotish* Nation, to this Day. It is true, I did confess, tho' it was not prov'd (and haply upon that Ground the Mistake might arise) I did give Money to *Massey*, and I did also write a Letter to him ; but he is of the *English*, not of the *Scotish* Nation. That for which I come here, is only for moving for Money for him, and that not upon a military Account, but merely to relieve his personal Necessities, and for being present where Letters were read from him and others. And altho' Man hath condemn'd me, yet I am so far from thinking that either God or my own Conscience condemns me, as sinning in what I am condemn'd for, that both God and my own Conscience doth acquit me : And what I said at the Bar, when I receiv'd my Sentence, that I shall say upon the Scaffold, That for those things for which I am condemned, neither God nor my own Conscience condemns me.

Again, I am accused to be an Extortioner ; and this is in the Mouths ---- I am loth to name them, because I will avoid all Rancor : But I am charged as if I should be a grievous Extortioner, to receive thirty Pounds for the Loan of three hundred

hundred Pounds, besides eight Pounds *per Cent.* for Interest, which in the Presence of God, and of you all, I do declare to you, is a most notorious and abominable Falshood.

I am accused likewise to be an Adulterer, and this Report is not in the Mouths of mean Men, but in the Mouths of those that sit at the Stern : As if I were a debauched Person, and were guilty of Uncleanness. Now I tell you, as *Luther* said of himself in another Case, that he was not tempted to Covetousness ; so thro' the Grace of God I can say, I have not been tempted in all my Life to Uncleanness. It doth not much grieve me, tho' these Slanders be cast upon me : I know my Betters have been worse accused before me : *Athanasius* was accused by two Harlots, that he had committed Folly with them ; and yet the Man was chaste and innocent. *Beza* was charged not only with Drunkenness, but with Lasciviousness also ; and many others have been accused with the same, if not with worse Slanders than I have been.

But (that which goeth nearest my Heart) I am accus'd to be a Murderer also ; and this is a Charge high indeed ; I am charged with the Guilt of all the Blood of *Scotland* ; whereas, did I lie under the Guilt of one Drop of Blood, I could not look upon God with so chearful a Countenance, and I could not be fill'd with so peaceable a Heart and Conscience as I have at this Day. I bless my God, I am free from the Blood of all Men : Those who lay this to my Charge, they do to me as *Nero* did to the Christians : He set *Rome* on fire, and then charged the Christians with it : So they put *England* and *Scotland* into a Flame, and yet charge me with the Guilt of that Blood, who have poured forth Tears to God Night and Day, to quench the Burning which

these Mens Ambitions and Lusts have kindled : And I would fain know of any Man what Act it is that I have done ? Or what is it that was proved in the High Court against me, that makes me guilty of *Scotland's Blood* ? Did I ever invite the *Scots* to invade *England* ? What Man doth lay that to my Charge ? Did I ever encourage the *English Army* to invade *Scotland* ? What Action is it that I have done that makes me guilty of that Blood ? Indeed this I have done, and this I have, and this I do stand to ; I have, as a private Man, prayed unto God many a Day, and kept many a Fast, wherein I have sought God that there might be an Agreement between the King and the *Scots*, upon the Interest of Religion and Terms of the Covenant : Now, by what Consequence can this be strain'd, to charge me with *Scotland's Blood* ? For my Part, I was but only at one Meeting where the Question was propos'd (Fasts only excepted) what should be thought fit to be done to promote the Agreement between the King and the *Scots* ? and that was moved in my House : And to that End, when there were some things there propos'd which they call'd a Commission, or Instructions to send to *Holland* ; as soon as ever I heard them, I did declare against them. I did declare that it was an Act of high Presumption for private Persons to commissionate ; an Act of notorious Falshood, to say it was in the Name of the *Presbyterian Party*, when none knew of it (that I know of) but only those few then present. Now this is only a political Engine to make the *Presbyterian Party* odious, who are the best Friends to a well order'd Government, of any sort of People in the World.

I am accused likewise to be a Man of a turbulent Spirit, to be an Enemy to the Peace and Quiet of the Nation. Now, as to this, let my Congregation and my Domestical Relations judge for me, whether I am not a Man that would fain have lived quiet in the Land : I am as *Jeremy* was, *born a Man of Contention* ; not actively, I contend, I strive with none : But passively, many strive and contend with me. God is my Witness, my Judgment hath put me upon endeavouring after all honourable and just Ways for Peace and Love among the Godly. The Grief of my Heart hath been for the Divisions, and the Desire of my Soul for an Union among God's People. But when I speak of an Union, I would not be misunderstood, I do not mean a State Union, to engage to the present Power, that is against my Principles ; that is to say, *A Confederacy with them that say, A Confederacy* : That is, rather a Combination than a Gospel Union : O join not with them, lest ye be consumed in their Sins ; they who get Power into their Hands by Policy, and use it with Cruelty, will lose it with Ignominy. It was said of Pope *Boniface*, He did enter into the Popedom like a Fox, reign'd like a Lion, but died like a Dog. Beloved, the Union for which I plead, is a Church Union ; to wit, Love among the Godly ; for this the Desires of my Soul have ever been, that those that fear God might walk Hand in Hand in the Fellowship of the Gospel, both in Truth and Love : If this Union be not, I am afraid, through our Divisions, a Company of loose Libertines will arise, who will endeavour not only to overthrow the Doctrine of Faith, and the Power of Godliness, but even good Manners also. I remember an Observation of holy *Greenham's*, giving his Judgment upon the State of *England*, saith he, *There is great Fear that Popery*

is coming into England, and I fear it too ; But (says he) I fear more the coming in of Atheism into England than the coming in of Popery ; and truly, that is my Fear also. Thus as to my Practice : A Word now as to my Principles.

I am accus'd to be an Apostate, to be a Turn-coat, to be this, to be that, to be any thing but what I am : In the general, I will tell you, I bless my God, a High-Court, a long Sword, a bloody Scaffold, have not made me in the least to alter my Principles, or to wrong my Conscience : And that I might discover to you my Principles, I hope I shall do it with Freedom ; I will irritate and provoke none ; what I shall say, shall not be an Irritation or Provocation of others, at least not intended by me ; but only as a genuine and clear Manifestation of my own Principles how they stand.

First then, my Principles, as to Civil and Religious Affairs, I do declare that I die with my Judgment set against Malignity, I do hate both Name and Thing ; I still retain as vehement a Detestation of a Malignant Interest as ever I did ; yet I would not be misunderstood : I do not understand, nor count the godly Party, our covenanting Brethren in *Scotland*, to be a Malignant Party ; nor the *Scots* defending their Nation and Title of their King to be a Malignant Interest, but an honest and justifiable Cause.

Secondly, Tho' I am against Malignity, yet I am not against, but for a regulated Monarchy ; a mixt Monarchy, such as ours is, I judge to be the best Government in the World : I did, it's true, in my Place and Calling, oppose the Forces of the late King, but I was never against the Office ; I am not only against Court-Parasites, who would screw up Monarchy into Tyranny, but against those who pull down Monarchy to bring in Anarchy.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, I was never for putting the King to death, whose Person I did promise in my Covenant to preserve: It is true, I did in my Place and Calling oppose his Forces, but I did never endeavour to destroy his Person. There is a Scandal rais'd of me, that in a Sermon at *Windsor*, I should have these Words, that *It would never be well with England, till the King were let blood in the Neck-vein*; which Speech I utterly detest, professing, as a dying Man, in the presence of God and of you all, I never spake such Words, as relating to him: Tho' my Judgment was for bringing Malignants, who did seduce him and draw him from his Parliament, to condign Punishment; yet I deem'd it an ill way to cure the Body-Politick, by cutting off the political Head.

Fourthly, I die with my Judgment absolutely set against the Engagement; I pray God forgive them that impose and subscribe it, and preserve those that refuse it.

Fifthly, I would not in the next place be look'd upon, now I am a dying Man, as a Man owning this present Government; I die with my Judgment against it: It is true, in a Case of Life, I did petition the present Power, and did give them the Titles they take to themselves, and that others give them; but herein I did not wrong nor thwart my Principles; there are many Instances in Scripture to justify this: *Hushai* did give the Title of King to *Absalom*, tho' *Absalom* had no Right to that Title; for *David* was the lawful King: And *David* himself gave him that Title as well as *Hushai*. And *Calvin* he gave the Title to the *French King*, calling him *the most Christian King*, yet we know he was a Papist: And we give a Title to King *Henry VIII.* and call him *the Defender of the Faith*, and yet he had no Right to that Title; for he was an Opposer, not a Defen-

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der of the Faith ; that Title was given him upon an evil ground, because he opposed the Faith ; he opposed the Doctrine of *Luther*, therefore the Pope gave him that Title, *The Defender of the Faith* ; and yet none did scruple to give him that Title that was then commonly given him.

Sixthly, in the next place (I discover my Judgment, I provoke none, only tell you what my own Thoughts are, that so after I am dead and gone, I might not be belied, for I dare not now bely my Principles) my Judgment is against the Invasion of the *Scotish* Nation by the *English* Army. They, who gave us a friendly Assistance, who are joyned with us in the same Covenant, who drew a Sword with us in the same Quarrel, should I live a Thousand Years, I should never draw Sword against them ; but the *English* Army have forgot the Brotherly Covenant : So that *Scotland* may say as *Edom*, *The Men of my Confederacy, who were at Peace with me, have risen up and prevailed against me* : Because *Scotland* will not be a Commonwealth, they shall not be a People ; because they will not break Covenant, some Men would have them broken ; because they will not lay their Consciences waste, their Land must be laid waste.

Lastly, and so I have done, (only with a Word of Exhortation) I die cleaving to all those Oaths, Vows, Covenants, and Protestations that were imposed by the two Houses of Parliament, as owning them, and dying with my Judgment for them ; to the Protestation, the Vow and Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant. And this I tell you all, I had rather die a Covenant-keeper, than live a Covenant-breaker.

I am now come to the third and last part of my Speech, and so I shall have done, and commit my Soul to God who gave it. My Exhortation first shall be to this great City, unto the godly Mini-
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fire of it ; and unto my own Congregation, from whom Death parts me, which nothing else could.

To the City I wish an Affluence and Confluence of all Blessings upon it ; and yet I fear grey Hairs, as the sad Symptoms of a Declension, are here and there upon *London*, and yet she knows it not. O *London, London*, God is staining the Pride of all thy Glory. Thy Glory is flying away like a Bird ; Contempt of the Ministry, Opposition against Reformation, general Apostacy, Covenant-breaking have brought *London* low, and I fear will yet bring it lower ; I tremble to think what Evils are coming upon it : This City it is the Receptacle of all Errors ; that as your Commodities are vented and spread from hence into every Corner of the Land, so have Heresies and Blasphemies had their first Rise from this great and populous City, and from hence are spread into all Countries.

To the Inhabitants of this City I commend but these few Particulars : First let me beg you to love your painful and your godly Ministers : If they be taken away, you are like to have worse come in their rooms. I know the Presbyterian Ministers are the great Eye-sore, who have formerly been counted the Chariots and Horsemen of *Israel* : But I will say of *London* (as was said of *Leyden*, *That after Junius, an Orthodox Minister, was taken away, Arminius, that pestilent Heretick, came in his room.*) If your godly Ministers (and there have been Ten already at one blow taken from you) if they be taken away, *Arminians, Anabaptists*, nay *Jesuits* are likely to supply their rooms, if God in Mercy prevent not. 2. Submit your selves to Church-Government ; that would lay a Curb and Restraint upon your Lusts : It is a golden and easie Yoak, to which if you do not submit, God may lay a heavy and an iron Yoak upon your Necks. 3. Take heed of those Doctrines that come under

der the Notion of *New Light*: Those Doctrines you ought to suspect, whether true, which the Broachers of them say are new; for Truth is as old as the Bible. A remarkable Passage I would suggest unto you, in *Deut xxxii. vers. 17*. It is said there, *They chose them new Gods that were newly come up*; and what were these *new Gods*? The next Words tell you, they were old Devils; *for they sacrificed to Devils, and not to God*! Now their sacrificing to old Devils is call'd a *sacrificing* (to deceive the People) *to new Gods, that were newly come up*; yet their new Gods were but old Devils. Why, so I say, tho' many things go under the notion of *new Light*, yet they are but old Darknes, old Heresies rak'd out of the Dunghil, and which were buried in former Ages of the Church, with Contempt and Reproach, many Hundred Years ago. 4. Bewail your great Loss which you have, in the taking away of so many Ministers out of your City; there are Ten Ministers (if I mistake not) that have been taken away and remov'd at one Blow, who were burning and shining Lights in their several Candlesticks, and bright Stars in their several Orbs; tho' I am not worthy of the World, and therefore am taken out of it; yet, as for my suffering Brethren, who are now in Bonds and Banishment, the World is not worthy of them. 5. Again, in the next place, take heed of engaging in a War against your Brethren of the *Scotish* Nation: For my part, I have oppos'd the Tyranny of a King, but I never oppos'd the Title.-----Take heed what you do.

I have something in the next place to speak to the godly Ministry of this City: Were it not that I am a dying Man, I would not speak to such reverend and grave Men; I would say as *Elihu* did (being but a young Man) *Multitude*
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of Years should teach Wisdom, and I would hold my tongue ; but the Words of a dying Man take, whether they be discreet or no ; or so well order'd or manag'd, or no ; as to them, I would first desire God to shew them Mercy, who have beg'd Mercy for me ; now at the Day of my Death I would beg but this of them, that as they have not been asham'd of my Chain, so they would now wax confident by my Bonds, and by my Blood. I know they are maligned and threatned, yet my Prayer for them is that in *Act. iv. 29.* *And now, O Lord, behold their Threatnings, and grant that thy Servants may preach thy Word with all Boldness.* Tho' I am but young, yet I will offer my young Experience to my grave Fathers and Brethren, and that is this ; Now I am to die, I have abundance of Peace in my own Conscience, that I have set my self against the Sins and Apostacies of this present Age. It is true, my Faithfulness hath procur'd me Ill-will from Men, but it hath purchas'd me Peace with God : I have liv'd in Peace, and I shall die in Peace : That which I have to beseech of the Ministers is this, to beg them to keep up Church-Government ; whatever God doth with the Governments of the World, turning Kingdoms upside down, yet the Government of the Church shall stand ; and of all Governments, I die with this Persuasion, that the Presbyterial Government makes most for Purity and Unity throughout the Churches of the Saints. I would beg them therefore to keep up Church-Government, that they would not let their Elderships fall, that they would take heed of too general Admissions to the Lord's Supper, that they be not too prodigal of the Blood of Christ, by too general Admissions of Men to the Supper of the Lord, that sealing Ordinance. And now I am speaking to
them,

them, I shall speak a Word of them, and so I have done : I have heard many Clamours since I came to Prison, as if all the City-Ministers were engag'd in the Plot (as 'tis call'd) that I am condemn'd for : Now, as a dying Man, I tell you, that all the Ministers that were present at the Meetings, and had a hand in the Business for which I am to be put to death, are either in Prison, or they are discover'd already ; and therefore I do here, upon my Death, free the Ministers of the City, who are not yet in Trouble, nor discover'd to the Committee of Examinations ; none of them had a hand in the Business in which I was engaged ; in which my Conscience tells me, I have not sin'd. I have done immediately, for I would fain be at my Father's House.

I have but a Word to speak to my own Congregation ; I return Praises unto God, and Thankfulness to them, for the Love I have had from them ; I found them a solid, judicious, and many of them a religious People : The Ministry of that learned Man, Mr. *Anth. Burgess*, did much good amongst them ; tho' I have cause to be humbled, that my weak Ministry did but little. They afforded me a great deal of Love, and a liberal Maintenance ; and this is all I desire of them, that they would chuse a godly, learned, and orthodox Minister to succeed, such an one as may keep up and carry on Church-Government : It would be a great Comfort to me before I go to Heaven, if I had but this Persuasion, that a learned, orthodox, godly Man should fill that Pulpit. And for Encouragement to any godly Minister whose Lot may be to succeed me, I will say this, that he will have as comfortable a Livelihood, and as loving a People, as are any People in *London*, a few only excepted : I had as much Satisfaction among them as ever I had in any Condition
in

in all my Life, and should never have parted from them, had not Death now parted us; to which I do submit with all Christian Meekness and Chearfulness. I am now drawing to an end of my Speech, and to an end of my Life together; but before I do expire my last Breath, I shall desire to justify God, and to condemn my self in all that is brought upon me. Here I come to that which you call an untimely End, and a shameful Death; but (blessed be God) it is my Glory, and it is my Comfort: I shall justify God, he is righteous, because I have sinned; he is righteous, tho' he cut me off in the midst of my Days, and in the midst of my Ministry: I cannot complain that Complaint in *Psalm* xliv. 12. *Thou sellest thy people for nought, and dost not encrease thy wealth by their Price.* My Blood it shall not be spilt for nought; I may do more good by my Death, than by my Life, and glorify God more in dying upon a Scaffold, than if I had died of a Disease upon my Bed. I bless my God, I have not the least Trouble upon my Spirit; but I do with as much Quietness of Mind lie down (I hope I shall) upon the Block, as if I were going to lie down upon my Bed to take my Rest. If Men hunger after my Flesh, and thirst after my Blood, let them have it, it will hasten my Happiness, and their Ruine, and greaten their Guiltiness: Tho' I am a Man of an obscure Family, of mean Parentage, so that my Blood is not as the Blood of Nobles, yet I will say it is a Christian's Blood, a Minister's Blood, yea, it is innocent Blood also: My Body, my dead Body, it will be a Morfel, which I believe will hardly be digested, and my Blood it will be bad Food for this Infant-Commonwealth (as Mr. *Prideaux* call'd it) to suck upon: Mine is not Malignant Blood, tho' here I am brought as a grievous and notorious Offender.

Now, Beloved, I shall not only justify God (as I do without a Complement; for he were very just, if my Prison had been Hell, and this Scaffold the bottomless Pit ; I have deserved both ; so that I do not only justify God) but I desire this day to magnify God, to magnify the Riches of his glorious Grace, that such an one as I, born in an obscure Country (in *Wales*) of obscure Parents, that God should look upon me, and single me out from amongst all my Kindred, to be an Object of his everlasting Love ; that when as the first Fourteen Years of my Life I never heard a Sermon, yet in the Fifteenth Year of my Life God (through his Grace) did convert me. And here I speak it without Vanity (for what should a dying Man be proud of ?) tho' I am accus'd of many scandalous Evils, yet (I speak to the Praise and Glory of my God) for these Twenty Years God hath kept me, that I have not fallen into any scandalous Sin ; I have labour'd to keep a good Conscience from my Youth up, and I magnify his Grace, that he hath not only made me a Christian, but a Minister, and judg'd me faithful to put me into the Ministry : And tho' the Office be trodden upon and disgraced, yet it is my Glory that I die a despised Minister ; I had rather be a Preacher in a Pulpit, than a Prince upon a Throne ; I had rather be an Instrument to bring Souls to Heaven, than to have all the Nations bring in Tribute to me : I am not only a Christian and a Preacher, but whatever Men judge, I am a Martyr too, I speak it without Vanity ; would I have renounc'd my Covenant, and debauch'd my Conscience, and ventur'd my Soul, there might have been hopes of saving my Life, that I should not have come to this place ; but blessed be my God, I have made the best Choice, I have chosen Affliction rather than Sin, and therefore

therefore welcome Scaffold, and welcome Axe
and welcome Block, and welcome Death, and
welcome All, because it will send me to my Fa-
ther's House: I have great cause to magnify
God's Grace, that he hath stood by me during
mine Imprisonment; it hath been a time of no
little Temptation to me, yet (blessed be his
Grace) he hath stood by me and strengthened
me; I magnify his Grace, that tho' now I come
to die a violent Death, yet that Death is not a
Terror to me; through the Blood of sprinkling,
the Fear of Death is taken out of my Heart;
God is not a Terror to me; therefore Death is
not dreadful to me; I bless my God, I speak it
without Vanity, I have formerly had more Fear
in the drawing of a Tooth, than now I have at
the cutting off my Head: I was for some Five
or Six Years under a Spirit of Bondage, and did
fear Death exceedingly; but when the Fear of
Death was upon me, Death was not near me;
but now Death is near me, the Fear of it is far
from me: And blessed be my Saviour, that hath
the Sting of Death in his own Sides, and so makes
the Grave a Bed of Rest to me, and makes Death
(the last Enemy) to be a Friend, tho' he be a
grim Friend. Further, I bless my God, that tho'
Men have judg'd me to be cast out of the World,
yet that God hath not cast me out of the Hearts
and Prayers of his People; I had rather be cast
out of the World, than cast out of the Hearts
of godly Men. Some think me (it is true) not
worthy to live; and yet others judge I do not de-
serve to die: But God will judge all, I will judge
no Man.

I have now done, I have no more to say, but
to desire the Help of all your Prayers, that God
would give me the Continuance and Supply of di-
vine Grace to carry me through this great Work

That I am now about : That as I am to do a Work I never did, so I may have a Strength I never had : That I may put off this Body with as much Quietness and Comfort of Mind, as ever I put off my Cloaths to go to Bed : And now I am to commend my Soul to God, and to receive my fatal Blow, I am comforted in this, *Tho' Men kill me, they cannot damn me ; and tho' they thrust me out of the World, yet they cannot shut me out of Heaven.* I am now going to my long Home, and you are going to your short Homes ; but I will tell you, I shall be at Home before you ; I shall be at my Father's House, before you will be at your own Houses : I am now going to the Heavenly *Jerusalem*, to the innumerable Company of Angels, to Jesus the Mediator of the new Covenant, to the Spirits of just Men made perfect, and to God the Judge of all, *In whose Presence there is Fulness of Joy, and at whose Right Hand are Pleasures for evermore.* I conclude with the Speech of the Apostle, *2 Tim. iv. 6, 7. I am now to be offer'd up, and the Time of my Departure is at hand ; I have finish'd my course, I have fought the good Fight, I have kept the Faith, henceforth there is a Crown of Righteousness laid up for me ; and not for me only, but for all them that love the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ,* through whose Blood, when my Blood is shed, I expect Remission of Sins and eternal Salvation. And so the Lord bless you all.

Then turning to the Sheriff, he said, May I pray ?

Sh. Titchburn. Yes, but consider the Time.

Mr. Love. I have done, Sir. Then turning to the People, he said, Beloved, I will but pray a little while with you, to commend my Soul to God, and I have done.

His Prayers being ended, he submitted to the Block with great Chearfulness, and the Executioner did his Office.

Mr. Love

MR. LOVE'S CHARACTER.

As to Mr. Love's Character, it may be gather'd in some measure from the Account he gives of himself at his Tryal, (*Vol. I. p. 690. fol. Edit. and p. 603. 8^{vo} Ed.*) viz.

I do solemnly protest I am no Malignant, or ever had a malignant Design, or carried on a malignant Interest: I engaged many in the Parliament's Quarrel against the King; and tho' I gave but little, yet I gave all I had in the World (Books and Cloaths excepted) When I was Master of Arts at *Oxon*, I was the first that refus'd signing the Canons concerning the Prelates and Common-Prayer, for which I was expell'd the Congregation-house. About 1640, or 41, I was imprison'd at *Newcastle*, for speaking against the Errors of the Service-book; and was the first Minister, after the Wars began between the King and Parliament, that was apprehended for preaching Treason; and was afterwards complain'd of by the King's Commissioners for a Sermon I preach'd at *Uxbridge*: And now this great Trouble is fallen on me, 'tis not the Fear of Death that concerns me; but that I should receive it from those Hands for whom I have done and suffer'd so much; with whom I have been engaged in the same Quarrel, and joined in the same Covenant: *This exceedingly touches me.*

My Lord *Clarendon* informs us, that at the Treaty of *Uxbridge* Mr. Love attended the Commissioners for the Parliament thither (I suppose in Quality of a Chaplain;) and the first Day of the Commissioners meeting being on a Market-day, when there usually was a Sermon, according to the Custom of those Times, Mr. Love preach'd, and told his Audience, which consisted of the People of the Town, and those who came to Market, the Church be-

ing very full, “ That they were not to expect any
 “ Good from the Treaty, for that they came from
 “ *Oxford* with Hearts full of Blood, and that there
 “ was as great a Distance between this Treaty and
 “ Peace, as between Heaven and Hell, and that
 “ they intended only to amuse the People with Ex-
 “ pectation of Peace, till they were able to do
 “ some notable Mischief to them. ” And enveigh’d
 so seditiously against all Cavaliers, that is, against
 all who follow’d the King, and against the Persons
 of the King’s Commissioners, that he could be
 understood to intend nothing else but to stir up the
 People to mutiny, and in it to do some Act of Vio-
 lence upon the Commissioners.

The King’s Commissioners complaining of this
 Usage, and demanding publick Justice ; the Par-
 liament’s Commissioners seem’d troubled at it, and
 promis’d to examine the Matter, and cause some
 severe Punishment to be inflicted on the Man : But
 afterwards they said they had no Authority to pu-
 nish him, but that they had caused him to be
 sharply reprehended, and to be sent out of the
 Town. (*Clar. Hist. Vol. II. p. 579.*)

My Lord *Clarendon* tells us further, that *Crom-
 well* having discover’d *Love* to be in the Plot with
 the *Scots*, for bringing in the King, notwithstand-
 ing all the Opposition the Presbyterians could
 make, who appear’d publickly with their utmost
 Power in his Behalf, He procur’d him to be con-
 demn’d and executed. And it is wonderful (says
 that noble Historian) what Operation this Pres-
 byterian-Spirit had upon the Minds of those who
 were possess’d by it. This poor Man, *Love*, who
 had been guilty of as much Treason against the
 King, from the beginning of the Rebellion, as the
 Pulpit cou’d contain, was so much without Re-
 morse for any Wickedness of that kind that he had
 committed, that he was jealous of nothing so
 much

much as of being suspected to repent, or that he was brought to suffer for his Affection to the King. And therefore when he was upon the Scaffold, where he appear'd with a marvellous Undauntedness, he seem'd so much delighted with the Memory of all that he had done against the late King, and against the Bishops, that he could not even then forbear to speak with Animosity and Bitterness against both, and express'd great Satisfaction of Mind for what he had done against them, and was as much transported with the inward Joy of Mind that he felt in being brought thither to die as a Martyr, and to give Testimony for the Covenant (whatsoever he had done, being in the pursuit of the Ends, *he said*, of that sanctified Obligation to which he was in and by his Conscience engaged.) And in this raving Fit, without so much as praying for the King, otherwise than that he might propagate the Covenant, he laid his Head upon the Block with as much Courage as the bravest and honestest Man cou'd do on the most pious Occasion. *Clar. Vol. III. p. 434.*

I have been inform'd, that such Application was made to the Protector for Mr. Love's Life, that he granted him a Pardon ; but that the Protector being then in the North, the Express, who carried it, fell into the Hands of some Cavaliers before he arriv'd at *London* ; and it being consider'd, that no Man had been a greater Incendiary, or pursu'd the King's Friends with more Violence than this Gentleman, it was agreed to detain the Express 'till he was executed ; which they did, to the inexpressible Grief of the Presbyterians.

*The Execution of the Hon. Col. JOHN PENRUDDOCK,
the 16th of May 1655.*

AS he was ascending the Scaffold, he said, This, I hope, will prove to be like *Jacob's* Ladder; tho' the Feet of it rest on Earth, yet I doubt not but the Top of it reacheth to Heaven.

When he came upon the Scaffold, he spoke to the People as follows:

Gentlemen,

It hath ever been the Custom of all Persons whatsoever, when they come to die, to give some Satisfaction to the World, whether they be guilty of the Fact of which they stand charged. The Crime for which I am now to die, is Loyalty, (but) in this Age call'd High-Treason. I cannot deny but I was at *Southmoulton*, in this County; but whether my being there, or my Actions there, amount to so high a Crime as High-Treason, I leave to the World, and to the Law, to judge: Truly, if I were conscious to my self of any base Ends that I had in this Undertaking, I would not be so injurious to my own Soul, or disingenuous to you, as not to make a publick Acknowledgment thereof. I suppose that divers Persons, according as they are bias'd in their several Interests and Relations, give their Opinions to the World concerning us. I conceive it impossible therefore, so to express my self in this Particular, as not to expose both my Judgment and Reputation to the Censure of many whom I shall leave behind me; because I will not put others (therefore) upon a Breach of Charity concerning me, or my Actions, I have thought fit to decline all Discourses which may give them a Capacity either to injure themselves, or me; my Tryal was publick, and my several

veral Examinations (I believe) will be produc'd when I am in my Grave : I will refer you therefore to the first, which I am sure some of you heard ; and to the latter, which many of you (in good time) may see ; had Captain *Crook* done himself and us that Right which a Gentleman and a Soldier ought to have done, I had not now been here. The Man I forgive with all my heart : But truly, Gentlemen, his protesting against those Articles he himself, with so many Protestations and Importunities put upon us, hath drawn so much Dishonour and Blood upon his Head, that I fear some heavy Judgment will pursue him ; tho' he hath been false to us, I pray God I do not prove a true Prophet to him ; nay, I must say more, that coming on the Road to *Exon*, he, the said Captain *Crook*, told me, Sir *Joseph Wagstaff* was a gallant Gentleman, and that he was sorry he was not taken with us ; that then he might have had the Benefit of our Articles ; but now, said he, I have beset all the Country for him, so that he cannot escape, but must be hang'd. He also question'd me, as I pass'd through *Salisbury* from *London*, whether he had given me Conditions, which I endeavouring to make appear to Major *Butler*, he interrupted me, and unwillingly confess'd it, saying I proffer'd him Four Hundred Pounds to perform his Articles ; which had been a strange Proffer of mine, had I not really condition'd with him ; and I told him then (having found him unworthy) I would have given him Five Hundred Pounds, believing him to be mercenary ; to make it yet farther appear, I injure him not, by stiling him unworthy ; after these Articles were given, he proffer'd to pistol me, if I did not persuade another House to yield, which then were boldly resisting ; to which my Servant, *John Biby* (now a Prisoner) reply'd, I hope you will

will not be so unworthy as to break the Law of Arms. Thus much I am obliged to say to the Honour of the Soldiery, That they have been so far from breaking any Articles given to others, that they have rather better'd them than otherwise. It is now our Misfortune to be made Precedents and Examples together: But I will not do the Protector so much Injury, as to load him with Dishonour, since I have been inform'd, that he would have made our Conditions good, if *Crook*, that gave them, had not abjur'd them. This is not a Time for me to enlarge upon any Subject, since I am now become the Subject of Death; but since the Articles were drawn by my Hand, I thought my self oblig'd to a particular Justification of them. I could tell you of some Soldiers which are turn'd out of his Troop for defending those Conditions of ours; but let that pass, and henceforward, instead of Life, Liberty, and Estate, (which were the Articles agreed upon) let Drawing, Hanging, and Quartering bear the Denomination of Captain *Crook's* Articles. However, I thank the Protector for granting me this honourable Death. I should now give you an Account of my Faith; but truly, Gentlemen, this poor Nation is rent into so many several Opinions, that it is impossible for me to give you mine, without displeasing some of you; however, if any Man be so critical as to enquire of what Faith I die, I shall refer him to the Apostles, *Athanasius*, and the *Nicene-Creed*, and to the Testimony of this reverend Gentleman, *Dr. Short*, to whom I have unbosom'd my self: And if this do not satisfy, look in the Thirty Nine Articles of the Catholick Church of *England*, to them I have subscribed, and do own them as authentick. Having now given you an Account concerning my self, I hold my self obliged in Duty to some of my

Friends,

Friends, to take off a Suspicion which lies upon them ; I mean, as to some Persons of Honour, which upon my Examination I was charged to have held Correspondency with ; the Marquess of *Hertford*, the Marquess of *Winchester*, and my Lord of *Pembroke*, were the Persons nominated to me ; I did then acquit them, and do now second it with this Protestation, that I never held any Correspondency with either, or any of them, in relation to this particular Business, or indeed to any thing which concern'd the Protector, or his Government : As for the Marquess of *Winchester*, I saw him some twelve Years since, and not later ; and if I should see him here present, I believe I should not know him ; and for the Earl of *Pembroke*, he was not a Man likely to whom I should discover my Thoughts, because he is a Man of contrary Judgment. I was examin'd likewise concerning my Brother *Freke*, my Cousin *Hastings*, Mr. *Dorrington*, and others : It is probable their Estates may make them liable to this my Condition ; but I do here so far acquit them, as to give the World this further Protestation, that I am confident they are as innocent in this Business as the youngest Child here : I have no more to say to you now, but to let you know that I am in Charity with all Men, I thank God ; I both can and do forgive my greatest Persecutors, and all that ever had any Hand in my Death. I have offer'd the Protector as good Security for my future Demeanour, as I suppose he could have expected, if he had thought fit to have given me my Life, certainly I should not have been so ungrateful as to have employ'd it against him. I do humbly submit to God's Pleasure, knowing that the Issues of Life and Death are in his Hand ; my Blood is but a small Sacrifice, if it had been saved, I am so much a Gentleman

as to have given Thanks to him that preserv'd it, and so much a Christian as to forgive them which take it ; but seeing God by his Providence hath call'd me to lay it down, I willingly submit to it, tho' terrible to Nature ; but blessed be my Saviour, who hath taken out the Sting ; so that I look upon it, without Terror, Death is a Debt, and a due Debt ; and it hath pleased God to make me so good a Husband that I am come to pay it before it is due. I am not ashamed of the Cause for which I die, but rather rejoice that I am thought worthy to suffer in the Defence and Cause of God's true Church, my lawful King, the Liberty of the Subject, and Privilege of Parliaments ; therefore I hope none of my Alliance and Friends will be ashamed of it ; it is so far from pulling down my Family, that I look upon it as the raising of it one Story higher ; neither was I so prodigal of Nature, as to throw away my Life, but have used (tho' none but honourable and honest) means to preserve it. These unhappy Times indeed have been very fatal to my Family, two of my Brothers already slain, and myself going to the Slaughter ; it is God's Will, and I humbly submit to that Providence. I must render an Acknowledgment of the great Civilities that I have receiv'd from this City of *Exon*, and some Persons of Quality, and for their plentiful Provision made for the Prisoners. I thank Mr. *Sheriff* for his Favour towards us, in particular to myself, and I desire him to present my due Respects to the Protector, and tho' he had no Mercy for myself, yet that he would have respect to my Family. I am now a stripping off my Cloaths to fight a Duel with Death (I conceive no other Duel lawful) but my Saviour hath pulled out the Sting of this mine Enemy, by making himself a Sacrifice for me, and truly I do not think that Man deserving one Drop of his Blood that will
not

not spend all for him in so good a Cause. The Truth is, Gentlemen, in this Age Treason is an *Individuum Vagum*, like the Wind in the Gospel, it bloweth where it listeth: So now Treason is what they please, and lighteth upon whom they will. Indeed no Man, except he will be a Traitor, can avoid this Censure of Treason. I know not to what End it may come, but I pray God my own and my Brother's Blood, that is now to die with me, may be the last upon this score: Now, Gentlemen, you may see what a Condition you are in without a King; you have no Law to protect you, no Rule to walk by when you perform your Duty to God, your King and Country; you displease the Arbitrary Power now set up (I cannot call it Government) I shall leave you to peruse my Tryal, and there you shall see what a Condition this poor Nation is brought into; and (no Question) will be utterly destroy'd, if not restor'd (by loyal Subjects) to its old and glorious Government; I pray God he lay not his Judgments upon *England* for their sluggishness in doing their Duty, and readiness to put their Hands in their Bosoms, or rather taking Part with the Enemy of Truth. The Lord open their Eyes, that they may be no longer led, or drawn into such Snares, else the Child that is unborn will curse the Day of their Parents Birth; God Almighty preserve my lawful King, *Charles II.* from the Hands of his Enemies, and break down that Wall of Pride and Rebellion, which so long hath kept him from his just Rights. God preserve his Royal Mother, and all his Majesty's Royal Brethren, and incline their Hearts to seek after him; God incline the Hearts of all true *English-men* to stand up as one Man to bring in the King, and redeem themselves and this poor Kingdom out of its more than *Egyptian* Slavery.

As

As I have now put off these Garments of Cloth, so I hope I have put off my Garments of Sin, and have put on the Robes of Christ's Righteousness here, which will bring me to the Enjoyment of his glorious Robes anon. Then he kneel'd down and kiss'd the Block, and said thus; I commit my Soul to God my Creator and Redeemer, Look upon me, O Lord, at my last gasping, hear my Prayer, and the Prayers of all good People; I thank thee, O God, for all thy Dispensations towards me. Then kneeling down, he pray'd most devoutly. Then he desir'd to see the Ax, and kiss'd it, saying, I am like to have a sharp Passage of it, but my Saviour hath sweeten'd it unto me. Then he said, If I would have been so unworthy as others have been, I suppose I might by a Lie have saved my Life, which I scorn to purchase at such a rate; I defy such Temptations and them that gave them me. Glory be to God on high, on Earth Peace, good Will towards Men, and the Lord have Mercy upon my poor Soul. *Amen.* So laying his Neck upon the Block, after some private Ejaculations, he gave the Headsman a Sign with his Hand, who at one Blow sever'd his Head from his Body.

The honourable Colonel JOHN PENRUDDOCK'S
C H A R A C T E R.

The Colonel was a Gentleman of a fair Fortune in the West of *England*, and of great Zeal for the King's Service: He join'd Major-General *Wagstaff* with a considerable Party when he surpriz'd *Salisbury*, and seiz'd the Protector's Judges and High Sheriff in their Beds; never was there a bolder Attempt, or better executed on their Part. The Gentlemen that were actually engag'd in it, and their Followers, hardly a-
mounted

mounted to two hundred Men: And to see them possess themselves of one of the principal Cities of the Kingdom, at a time when the Judges and all the Civil Power of the Country were assembled there at the Assizes, when the Usurpers were in full Peace, and had a good Army of *Veteran* Troops at their Command. (*Clar. Hist. Vol. III. p. 556.*) To see them in these Circumstances publicly proclaim the King in that great City, when few Men dare to name him: This was an Action the greatest Hero would have been proud to have had a Share in, and for which every Gentleman concern'd ought to have had a Statue erected to his Honour.

Nor should the want of Success lessen the Glory of the Action in the Opinion of any considerate Man: For had the other Counties done their Duty according to their respective Engagements, they had probably been Instruments of the greatest Deliverance that ever an oppressed People were sensible of. The noble Historian indeed attributes their ill Fortune in some measure to their too great Compassion, and *unseasonable* Tenderneſs in Matters of Blood (and to this in other Parts of his History he also ascribes the Misfortunes of their great Master.) But if this was an Error, surely it was an Error on the right Hand: And admitting they were mistaken in the Means, the End was nevertheless glorious.

It was an Attempt to rescue themselves and their Fellow-Subjects from Slavery, from the Insults of those who had heretofore been their Servants, or were sprung from the meanest Mechanics! It was to restore both King and People to their ancient Rights. It was for the Restoration of their Laws, and of their holy Religion.

And accordingly we find, when they were drag'd to their Executions, the Principles, on which they acted, inspir'd them with a suitable Courage and Resolution, and they died professing their Loyalty to their Prince, and glorying in their late great Attempt, and only bewail'd the Supineness of their Fellow-Subjects, whose too great Sluggishness and Inactivity had render'd the Design abortive.

The dying Speech of Captain HUGH GROVE, of Chisenburg, in the Parish of Enford, in the County of Wilts, Esq; who was executed with Colonel PENRUDDOCK the 16th of May, 1655, in the Castle of Exon.

Good People,

I never was guilty of much Rhetorick, nor ever lov'd long Speeches in my Life, and therefore you cannot expect either of them from me now at my Death. All that I shall desire of you, besides your hearty Prayers for my Soul, is, that you would bear me witness I die a true Son of the Church of *England*, as it was establish'd by King *Edward VI.* Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and King *Charles I.* of ever blessed Memory; that I die a loyal Subject to King *Charles II.* my undoubted Sovereign, and a Lover of the good old Laws of the Land, the just Privileges of Parliaments, and Rights and Liberties of the People; for the re-establishing of all which, I did undertake this Engagement, and for which I am ready to lay down my Life. God forgive the bloody-minded Jury, and those that procur'd 'em. God forgive Capt. *Crook* for denying his Articles so unworthily. God forgive Mr. *Dove*, and all other Persons swearing so maliciously and falsely against me. God forgive all mine Enemies, I heartily forgive

forgive them. God bleſs the King, and all that love him; turn the Hearts of all that hate him. God bleſs you all, and be merciful to you, and to my Soul. *Amen.* So meekly laying his Neck to the Block, and giving a Sign, his Head at one Blow, and a Draw of the Ax, was ſevered from his Body.

The Execution of JOHN HEWET, D.D. on Tueſday the 8th of June, 1658.

THIS Day, about Noon, Dr. *Hewet* was brought forth to the Scaffold on *Tower-hill*, whither being come (together with Dr. *Wild*, Dr. *Warmeftry*, and another Divine) he fell upon his Knees, and prayed privately for the Space of a Quarter of an Hour; after that he pray'd audibly for a good Space.

After which Prayer he addreſſed himſelf to the People in the following Words :

I am now become a publick Spectacle to Men and Angels, and (I hope) God, who is Omniſcient, is now beholding me with much Pity, and great Mercy and Compaſſion; and the more, becauſe I am now come to that End that his own Son came into the World for, to bear witneſs to the Truth; he himſelf ſaid, *For this End was I born, for this Cauſe came I into the World, that I ſhould bear witneſs to the Truth*: I was brought into the World (the Chriſtian World) for to bear witneſs to the Truth of the Goſpel, as a common Chriſtian; I was brought into the World (the Church) as a Miniſter of his bleſſed Word and Sacraments; [Bleſſed be his Name for that great Honour and Dignity;] and I came into the World to die more immediately for the Teſtimony of JESUS, which God hath now called me to. I came into this World (this Common-wealth)

to be a Member thereof, to bear witness to the Truths of the Customs, the Laws, the Liberties, and Privileges thereof; so I am a Member of the Common-wealth: And methinks it seems to me a strange Thing, that in as much as we all plead for Liberty, and Privileges, and I pleading for the Privileges, the Laws, the Statutes, and the Customs of this Land, yet I should die by those that should stand for the Laws, the Statutes, and Privileges of the Land: And I am here beheld by those that plead for their Liberties, and I hope I am pitied, because I here give up myself willingly and freely to be a State-Martyr for the publick Good; and I had rather die many Deaths myself, than betray my Fellow-Freemen to so many Inconveniencies, that they might be like to suffer, by being subject to the Wills of them that willed me to this Death.

And it is worthy Remembrance, that Mr. *Solicitor* having impeached me of Treason to the Commissioners of the Court against his Highness, I did often (when brought before those Commissioners) plead for the Liberties of the People of *England*; tho' I had no Knowledge of the Law, yet I had Instruction from those that were learned in the Law, and had several Law-Cases and Precedents put into my Hand, tho' not by them, and urged several Law-Cases; and made my Appeal: First, for the Judicature that I was to be tried by, Whether it were according to Law? Whether it were according to the Act? And whether it were according to the Words of the said Act? I did appeal to have the said Act argued by learned Lawyers on both Sides, and then to be resolved by his Highness's own Council, which was denied me; [This by the by] I pressing the Argument, made a second Appeal, that those Judges, if they would give singly their several Judgments that it was a
just

just and lawful Court of Judicature, I would answer to my Charge. I did make another Appeal to those that were his Highness's Council, and pleaded against me, that if they would deliver it to me under their Hands to be according to Law, I would then go on to plead and answer to the Charge. What was then said further, my Spirits being faint, I shall not say much, but only this, I was taken in three Defaults upon Formality of the Court. It seems it is a Custom in all Courts, (which I did not know before) that if they answer not the third time speaking by the Clerk, that then they are guilty of three Defaults, and proceeded against as mute: [I had no such Knowledge of the Law.] So they found me guilty of those Defaults: And when I would have pleaded, and resolved to begin to plead, I was taken from the Bar. I did the next Day make my Petition to the Court in the Painted Chamber; two Petitions were presented, the same in effect; the former the Title was mistaken: Yet because the Title was mistaken, and no Answer was given, therefore it was that another Petition was drawn up to the same Effect, with a new Title given, (as I remember) presented by the Sergeant at Arms, and one writ it over in such haste, lest they should be drawn out of the Painted Chamber into the Court, that I had not time to read it over, only I subscribed my Name, and there was in the Front of the Petition a Word left out, but what the Word was I know not; and this was taken so ill, as if I had put an Affront and Contempt on the Court; and it was thought they would have heard me plead; and then, because of that Mistake, they sent Word I should have my Answer when I came into the Court, and my Answer was the Sentence of Condemnation. And therefore, I pray with all my

Soul, that God would forgive all those that occasioned the Charge to be drawn against me, to give such unjust things against me : I pray with all my Soul, that God would forgive all those that upon so slender and small Grounds adjudg'd me to die, taking Advantage of such simple Ignorance, as I was in. And I had, at the very Beginning of my Pleading, engag'd their Honours no Advantage should be taken against me to my Prejudice, that in as much as I understood nothing of the Law : And having heard that a Man in the Nicety of the Law might be lost in the Severity thereof, merely for speaking a Word out of simple Ignorance ; I made it my Prayer to them, that no Advantage might be taken against me, to the Prejudice of my Person ; and there was to me a seeming Consent, for the President told me, there should be no Advantage taken against me ; and upon these Considerations I am afraid there was too great Uncharitableness : But I pray God forgive them from the very Bottom of my Soul , and I desire that even those that shed my Blood, may have Bowels of the God of Mercy shed for them.

And now having given you the Occasion of my coming hither, it is fit I should give you somewhat as concerning myself, as I am a Christian, and as I am a Clergy-man : First, as I am a Christian, I thank God I was baptized to the Holy Church, so I was baptized to be a Member of the Holy Catholick Church ; that is, the Church of *England*, which I dare say, for Purity of Doctrine, and orderly Discipline, till a sad Reformation had spoiled the Face of the Church, and made it a Query, whether it was a Church or no : I say, it was more purely Divine and Apostolical than any other Doctrine or Church in the Christian World, whether National, or Classcal,
or

or Congregational. And I must tell you, That as I am a Member of this Church, so I am a Member of the Holy Catholick Church, and shall give a most just Confession of my Faith, both negatively, and affirmatively. Negatively, I am so a Member of the Holy Catholick Church, that I abhor all Sects, Schisms, Sedition, and Tyranny in Religion. Affirmatively so, that as I hold Communion with, so I love and honour all Christians in the World that love the same Lord JESUS in Sincerity, and call on his Name, agreeing with those Truths that are absolutely necessary, and clearly demonstrated in the Word of God, both in the Old and New Testament, tho' in Charity dissenting from some others that are not necessary. And I, as I am thus a Christian, I hope for Salvation, thro' the Merits of Christ Jesus; his Blood I rely on, his Merits I trust to, for the Salvation of my own Soul. Tho' to this Faith good Works are necessary, not meritorious in us, but only made meritorious by Christ his Death; by his All-sufficiency, by his Satisfaction, and his Righteousness, they become meritorious; but in us they are no other than as defiled Rags. And truly, as I am a Member of the Church, so I told you I was a Member of this Community, and so pleaded for the Liberties and Privileges thereof. I must now answer something I am aspersed withal in the World.

They talk of something of a Plot, and a treasonable Design, and that I had a great Interest in the Knowledge and Practice thereof, and that for the saving my Life, I would have discover'd and betray'd I cannot tell what: I hope my Conversation hath not been such here in this City, where I have been a long time very well known, as to make one imagine I should intermeddle in such an Action, and go so contrary to the Practice of my

Profession; and I hope there are none so uncharitable towards me, as to believe I had a Knowledge of that Design.

Here I must come to Particulars for a Plot, of having a Design upon the City of *London*, for the firing of it: I so much tremble at the Thought of the thing that should have been done, as they say, for the carrying on of such a Design, (if my Heart deceive me not) had I known it, I so much abhor the thing, I should have been the first Discoverer of it: Nor ever had I Correspondency or Meetings with such Persons as would have carried on such a Design. It is said likewise, I entertain'd the Earl, the Marquess of *Ormond*; to my Remembrance I never saw the Face of that honourable Person in my Life. It is said, one Lord's Day I did preach at *St. Gregory's*, and the next Lord's Day I was at *Brussels*, or *Bruges*, and kiss'd the King's Hand, and brought I cannot tell what Orders and Instructions from him: This I shall say, for these three Years last past together, I have not been sixty Miles from this City of *London*, and I think it is somewhat further to either of those Places than threescore Miles. It is said that I kept Correspondence with one *Mallory* and *Bishop*: They are Persons I have heard of their Names, but never saw their Faces, and to my Knowledge I do not know they know me; nor do I know them at all, but only as I have heard of their Names. And whosoever else hath suggested such things against me, I know not.

His Highness was pleas'd to tell me, I was like a flaming Torch in the midst of a Sheaf of Corn: He meaning, I being a publick Preacher, was able to set the City on Fire by Sedition and Combuſtions, and promoting Designs. Here truly I do say, and have it from many of those that are Judges of the High Court, that upon Examination

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tion of the Business they have not found me a Meddler at all in these Affairs. And truly I must needs say therefore, that it was a very uncharitable Act in 'em (whoever they were) that brought such Accusations against me, and irritated his Highness against me: I will not say it was Malice, it might be Zeal; but it was rash Zeal which caus'd me to be sentenc'd to this Place: The God of Mercy pardon and forgive them all. And truly, as I am a Member of the Church, and as a Member of the Community where on Behalf I have been speaking, I cannot but do as our Saviour himself did for his Disciples; when he was to be taken from them, he blessed them, and ascended up to Heaven. My Trust is in the Mercy of the Most High, I shall not miscarry; and however my Days are shorten'd by this unexpected Doom, and shall be brought untimely to the Grave, I cannot go without my Prayers for a Blessing upon all the People of this Land, and cannot but bless them all in the Name of God, and beseech God to bless them in all their Ways, and his Blessing be upon them.

After this, he joyned in publick Prayer with Dr. *Wild* and Dr. *Warmestry*, he all the while lying flat upon his Breast.

Then he address'd himself to private Prayer, wherein he continued a certain time.

After this he prepar'd himself for the Block, and with a black Ribbon bound over his Eyes, lying with his Breast over the Block, he prayed again for a short while; then laid his Neck upon the Block, and after some short and private Ejaculations, the Executioner (having notice that he was ready) at one Blow sever'd his Head from his Body; which was put into a Coffin, and convey'd away by his Friends.

The Confluence of People of all sorts to behold these Executions was very great, the like to which hath not been observ'd.

Dr. JOHN HEWET'S CHARACTER.

Dr. *Hewet* was born a Gentleman, and bred a Scholar, and was a Divine before the beginning of the Troubles: He liv'd in *Oxford* and in the Army 'till the End of the War, and continu'd afterwards to preach, with great Applause, in a little Church in *London*; where, by the Affection of the Parish, he was admitted, since he was enough known to lie under the Brand of Malignity. When the Lord *Falconbridge* married *Cromwel's* Daughter (who had us'd secretly to frequent his Church) after the Ceremony of the Time, he was made choice of to marry 'em according to the Order of the Church; which engaged both that Lord and Lady to use their utmost Credit with the Protector to preserve his Life; but he was inexorable, and desirous that the Churchmen, upon whom he look'd as his mortal Enemies, shou'd see what they were to trust to, if they stood in need of his Mercy. It was believ'd, if the Doctor had pleaded, he might have been acquitted, since in Truth he never had been with the King at *Cologne* or *Bruges*, as he was charged to have been: And they had Blood enough in their Power to pour out; for besides these two Gentlemen, to whom they granted the Favour to be beheaded, there were Three others, Col. *Ashton*, *Stacey*, and *Bettely*, condemn'd by the same Court, who were treated with more Severity, and were hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd, with the utmost Rigour, in several great Streets of the City, to make the deeper Impression upon the People, the Two last being Citizens. But all Men appear'd so nauseated with Blood, and so tir'd with those
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abominable Spectacles, that *Cromwel* thought it best to pardon the rest who were condemn'd, or rather reprieve them; amongst whom *Mallory* was one, who was not at liberty 'till the King's Return, and was more troubled for the Weakness he had been guilty of, than they were against whom he had trespass'd. (*Clar. Vol. III. p.624.*)

The Execution of Sir HENRY SLINGSBY, on Tuesday, the 8th of June 1658.

ABout Eleven of the Clock, *Sir Henry Slingsby* was brought from the Tower to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*; whither being come, he fell upon his Knees, and for a short Space pray'd privately.

Then standing up, he did in a short Speech, and with a very low Voice, address himself to *Mr. Sheriff Robinson*, telling him, that what he had to say he would speak to him; which was to this purpose:

That he had receiv'd a Sentence to die, upon account of his endeavouring to betray the Garrison of Hull: But said, All that he did in that Business he was drawn in to by others.

That the Officers of that Garrison did believe he had some greater Design in hand, and therefore they would needs pump him to the bottom: But what he spoke to them in private was brought into Evidence against him. He likewise said, That he did no more than any Person would have done that was so brought on.

That he had made many Applications (by his Friends) for a Reprieve, but found his Highness was inexorable.

He did confess, that he did deliver a Commission (as it was charged against him:) But said, that it was an old Commission, and what he meant was well known to himself; but what Constructions others had made of it might appear by his present Condition.

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He discover'd little Sense of Sorrow, or Fear of Death ; but said, *He was ready to submit*, or Words to like purpose.

Then he address'd himself to private Prayer again ; and kneeling down to the Block, he pray'd privately for a short space : Then laid his Head upon the Block, and at the Sign given, the Executioner sever'd his Head from his Body at one Blow : And his Friends put his Body into a Coffin, and remov'd it into a close Coach prepared near the Place.

Sir HEN. SLINGSBY'S CHARACTER.

Sir *Henry Slingsby* was in the first Rank of the Gentlemen of *Yorkshire*, and was return'd to serve as a Member in the Parliament that continu'd so many Years, where he sat 'till the Troubles began ; and having no Relation to, or Dependence upon the Court, he was sway'd only by his Conscience to detest the violent and undutiful Behaviour of that Parliament. He was a Gentleman of a good Understanding, but of a very melancholick Nature, and of very few Words ; and when he could stay no longer, with a good Conscience, in their Councils, in which he never concurr'd, he went into his Country, and join'd with the first who took up Arms for the King. And when the War was ended, he remain'd still in his own House, prepar'd and dispos'd to run the Fortune of the Crown in any other Attempt. And having a good Fortune, and a general Reputation, had a greater Influence upon the People than they who talk'd more and louder ; and was known to be irreconcilable to the new Government ; and therefore was cut off, notwithstanding very great Intercession to preserve him : For he was Uncle to the Lord *Falconbridge*, who engag'd his Wife, and all his new Allies to
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intercede for him without Effect. When he was brought to die, he spent very little Time in Discourse, but told them, *He was to die for being an honest Man, of which he was very glad.* (Clar. Hist. Vol. III. p. 623.)

The Execution of Major-General HARRISON, the Day of October, 1660. By a Friend of the General's.

THE Sheriff came that Morning that he was to die, and told him, that in half an Hour he must be gone; he answer'd, that he was ready, and would not have him stay at all on his account. But the Sheriff left him to stay a little longer, and in the mean time, he was longing for the Sheriff's coming, and as his Friends judg'd he was in haste to be gone, and said, He was going about a great Work for the Lord that Day; and that his Support was, that his Sufferings were upon the account of *Jehovah*, the Lord of Hosts. He said, He look'd upon this as a clear Answer of his Prayers; for many a time, said he, have I begg'd of the Lord, That if he had any hard Thing, any reproachful Work, or contemptible Service to be done by his People, That I should be employ'd in it; *And now blessed be the Name of God, who accounteth me worthy to be put upon this Service for my Lord Christ: Oh, this is nothing to what Christ hath suffer'd for me!*

He parted with his Wife and Friends with great Joy and Chearfulness, as he did use to do when going some Journey, or about some Service for the Lord. He told his Wife he had nothing to leave her but his Bible; but that he was assured that God would make up all her Losses in due time; and desired, that those that did love him, should manifest their Love in being loving and tender to his dear Wife.

Some

Some Passages at the Dungeon Door, as he came forth : The Sheriff commanding the Keeper to acquaint Mr. *Harrison* he must go to suffer : The Keeper came forth, and return'd Answer, That he was ready when he pleas'd : Then the Sheriff commanded the Keeper to fetch him forth ; so he came forth immediately, sooner than was expected ; (running down the Stairs with a smiling Countenance) by reason of his sudden coming, the Door (that he was to go up a pair of Stairs at) was not open'd, which occasion'd his Stay in the Hall till the Keeper could be found ; and there one Mrs. *M.* took him by the Hand, and said, with a loud Voice, *Blessed be the great God of Hosts, that hath enabled you, and call'd you forth to bear your Testimony ; the God of all Grace and Peace be with you, and keep you faithful to the Death, that you may receive a Crown of Life.* With that one of the Officers pulled the Woman away by the Shoulder, saying, Away with this Woman, she stands prating here. But the Major-Gen. replied, Be not offended with her, she speaks Scripture-Language : So they thrust her away from him, and would not permit any to speak more to him in that Place. Then he spake, saying, *I bless the Lord that hath called me forth, and hath enabled me in the Power of his Strength, to offer my Life with Satisfaction and Chearfulness, in Obedience to the Will of God. I bless the Lord, I am full of the Manifestation of his Love in the Lord Jesus ; it's a Day of Joy to my Soul. I say God hath enabled me, to whom all the Powers of the World are but as the Drop of a Bucket ;* and said he, *I do find so much of the Joy of the Lord coming in, that I am carried far above the Fear of Death, being going to receive that glorious and incorruptible Crown which Christ hath prepared for me.*

Then

Then he was carried into a Room where the common Prisoners were, and told them what a sad thing it was to be condemn'd to die, and to want the Love and Favour of God ; But it's not so with me ; for tho' I die, yet I know I shall live with Christ to all Eternity, and this is out of the exceeding Riches of the Grace of God ; for he it is that maketh the Difference : For as I am in myself, I am a base, vile, and nothing Creature ; but compleat in him who is the Head of all Principalities and Powers. Poor Men ! I wish you all as well as I do my own Soul. Oh that you did but know Christ ! his Bowels earn towards the greatest of Sinners ; his Blood is sufficient to do away the deepest Iniquity ; he waiteth to be gracious, and is willing to receive all that come unto him : Oh therefore labour to come to Christ ! your Time in this World is short and uncertain ; you are walking upon the Brink of Eternity, and are ready to drop in every Moment ; if you die without the Fear of our God, you will be miserable for ever and ever ; but if you come to know Christ to be yours, it will be your Joy and Happiness World without End. He then put his Hands into his Pocket and gave them some Money, and wish'd them to take heed of sinning against the Lord. And from thence was carried upon the Leads on the Top of Newgate, so that he could see the greatest Part of the City ; he then said, *The Earth is the Lord's, and the Fulness thereof, and there is nothing hid from his Eyes.* From thence he was carry'd down two Pair of Stairs, where he was tied about the Back, Breast, and Shoulders ; he took the Rope in his Hand and said, *Friends take notice that God gives me Power to receive this with Thanksgiving,* and he help'd the Serjeant to put on the Rope. Then a Friend came weeping to him to take her leave of him,
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he said, *Hinder me not, for I am going about a Work for my Master.* Then looking about him, said, *Sirs, it's easy to follow God when he makes a Hedge about us, and makes liberal Provision for us ; but it's hard for most to follow him in such a Dispensation as this ; and yet my Lord and Master is as sweet and glorious to me now, as he was in the time of my greatest Prosperity.*

He also said, this I can say for myself, *That according to the Light that God hath given me, I have served him and my Country with Integrity and Uprightness of Heart, not willingly, nor wittingly wronging any : But this have I done with much Infirmary and Weakness.* One telling him, that he did not know how to understand the Mind of God in such a Dispensation as this. He said, *Wait upon the Lord ; for you know not what the Lord is leading to, and what the End of the Lord will be.*

After this, addressing himself to a Gentleman, he said, *I dare not, nor cannot be a Pleaser of Men :* A Friend answer'd, it appear'd so by your declining Cromwell's Interest ; which Words he assented to, and further said, *The manner of my speaking before the Court may seem strange to some ; but my Design was not to approve myself before Men, but God ; and what I said, was according to my Conscience.* And as the Rope was tying on, he repeated Isaac's Words to Abraham ; *Father, here is the Wood, but where is the Sacrifice ?* and also said, *If the Lord see good, he can provide another Sacrifice, he can deliver those that are appointed to die ; but his Will be done, Death is not terrible to me ; yea, it is no more to me than a Rush, I have learn'd to die long ago.* And was often heard to say, concerning the Lord's Dispensation to him and his People, *Shall not the Lord do with his own what it pleaseth him ?* And so parting with his Friend, went down Stairs to the Sledge, and ask'd which way must I sit ? for I am
not

not acquainted with this : *Good is the Lord in all his Ways.* Then he was carried away in the Sledge, having a sweet smiling Countenance, with his Eyes and Hands lifted up to Heaven, his Countenance never changing in all the Way as he went to the Place of Execution, but was mighty cheerful, to the Astonishment of many. He call'd several times in the Way, and spoke aloud, *I go to suffer upon the Account of the most glorious Cause that ever was in the World.* As he was going to suffer, one in a Derision call'd to him and said, *Where is your Good Old Cause ?* He with a cheerful Smile clapt his Hand on his Breast, and said, *Here it is, and I am going to seal it with my Blood.* And when he came to the Sight of the Gallows, he was transported with Joy, and his Servant ask'd him how he did ; he answer'd, never better in my Life : His Servant told him, Sir, there is a Crown of Glory ready prepar'd for you. O yes, said he, I see it ; when he was taken off the Sledge, the Hangman desir'd him to forgive him. I do forgive thee, said he, with all my Heart, as it is a Sin against me ; and told him he wish'd him all Happiness. And further said, alas poor Man thou dost it ignorantly ; the Lord grant that this Sin may not be laid to thy Charge : And putting his Hand into his Pocket, gave him all the Money he had ; and so parting with his Servant, hugging of him in his Arms, he went up the Ladder with an undaunted Countenance.

Major

*Major General HARRISON's Speech upon the
Ladder.*

Gentlemen,

I Did not expect to have spoken a Word to you at this time ; but seeing there is a Silence commanded, I will speak something of the Work God had in Hand in our Days.

Many of you have been Witnesses of the Finger of God that hath been seen amongst us of late Years, in the Deliverance of his People from their Oppressors, and in bringing to Judgment those that were guilty of the precious Blood of the dear Servants of the Lord. And how God did witness thereto by many wonderful and evident Testimonies, as it were immediately from Heaven ; insomuch that many of our Enemies, who were Persons of no mean Quality, were forc'd to confess, *That God was with us ; And if God did but stand neuter, they should not value us :* And therefore, seeing the Finger of God hath been pleading this Cause, I shall not need to speak much to it : In which Work I with others were engag'd ; for the which, I do from my Soul bless the Name of God, who out of the exceeding Riches of his Grace accounted me worthy to be instrumental in so glorious a Work ; and tho' I am wrongfully charged with Murder and Blood-shed, yet I must tell you, I have kept a good Conscience both towards God, and towards Man ; I never had Malice against any Man, neither did I act maliciously towards any Person, but as I judged them to be Enemies to God and his People ; and the Lord is my Witness that I have done what I did out of the Sincerity of my Heart to the Lord. I bless God I have no Guilt upon my Conscience, but the Spirit of God beareth Witness that my Actions
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are acceptable to the Lord, thro' Jesus Christ; tho' I have been compassed about with manifold Infirmities, Failings and Imperfections in my holiest Duties; but in this I have Comfort and Consolation, that I have Peace with God, and do see all my Sins wash'd away in the Blood of my dear Saviour. And I do declare as before the Lord, that I would not be guilty wittingly, nor willingly of the Blood of the meanest Son, no not for ten thousand Worlds, much less of the Blood of such as I am charged with.

I have again and again besought the Lord with Tears to make known his Will and Mind unto me concerning it, and to this Day he hath rather confirmed me in the Justice of it, and therefore I leave it to him, and to him I commit my Ways; but some that were eminent in the Work, did wickedly turn aside themselves, and to set up their Nests on high, which caused great Dishonour to the Name of God, and the Profession they had made. And the Lord knows I could have suffer'd more than this, rather than have fallen in with them in that Iniquity, tho' I was offer'd what I would if I would have joined with them; my Aim in all my Proceedings was the Glory of God, and the Good of his People, and the Welfare of the whole Common-wealth.

The People observing him to tremble in his Hands and Legs, he taking notice of it, said:

Gentlemen, By reason of some Scoffing that I do hear, I judge that some do think I am afraid to die by the Shaking I have in my Hands and Knees; I tell you no, but it is by reason of much Blood I have lost in the Wars, and many Wounds I have receiv'd in my Body, which caused this Shaking and Weakness in my Nerves; I have had it this twelve Years; I speak this to the Praise and Glory of God; he hath carried me above

the Fear of Death ; and I value not my Life, because I go to my Father, and am assured I shall take it up again.

Gentlemen, Take notice, that for being instrumental in that Cause and Interest of the Son of God, which hath been pleaded amongst us, and which God hath witnessed to by Appeals and wonderful Victories, I am brought to this Place to suffer Death this Day ; and if I had ten thousand Lives, I could freely and chearfully lay them down all to witness to this Matter.

Oh what am I, poor Worm, that I should be accounted worthy to suffer any thing for the sake of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ ! I have gone joyfully and willingly many a time to lay down my Life upon the Account of Christ, but never with so much Joy and Freedom as at this time ; I do not lay down my Life by Constraint, but willingly ; for if I had been minded to have run away, I might have had many Opportunities ; but being so clear in the thing, I durst not turn my Back, nor step a Foot out of the Way, by reason I had been engaged in the Service of so glorious and great a God. However, Men presume to call it by hard Names ; yet I believe, e're it be long, the Lord will make it known from Heaven that there was more of God in it than Men are now aware of : *All the Gods of the Nations are but Idols ; they have Eyes but see not, and Mouths but speak not, and cannot save those that trust in them. But my God is the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, before whom all you here, and all Nations, are but as a Drop of a Bucket. And he will never leave those that truly trust in him, unto whose Glory I shall surely go, and shall sit on the right Hand of Christ in Heaven, it may be to judge those that have unjustly judged me, Matth. 25. 33, 34. 1 Cor. 6. 2.*

The Sheriff minding him of the Shortness of Time, if he had any thing to say to the People he might.

He said, I do desire as from my own Soul, that they and every one may fear the Lord, that they may consider their latter End, and so it may be well with them ; and even for the worst of those that have been most malicious against me, from my Soul I would forgive 'em all so far as any thing concerns me ; and so far as it concerns the Cause and Glory of God, I leave it for him to plead ; and as for the Cause of God, I am willing to justify it by my Sufferings, according to the good Pleasure of his Will.

I have been this Morning, before I came hither, so hurried up and down Stairs, (the meaning whereof I knew not) that my Spirits are almost spent ; therefore you may not expect much from me.

Oh the Greatness of the Love of God to such a poor, vile, and nothing Creature as I am ! what am I that *Jesus Christ* should shed his Heart's Blood for me, that I might be happy to all Eternity, that I might be made a Son of God, and an Heir of Heaven ! Oh, that Christ should undergo so great Sufferings and Reproaches for me, and should not I be willing to lay down my Life and suffer Reproaches for him that hath so loved me ! Blessed be the Name of God that I have a Life to lose upon so glorious, and so honourable an Account : Then praying to himself, with Tears ; and having ended, the Hang-man pull'd down his Cap ; but he thrust it up again, saying, I have one Word more to the Lord's People, that desire to serve him with an upright Heart : Let 'em not think hardly of any of the good Ways of God for all this ; for I have been near this seven Years a suffering Person, and have found the Way of

God to be a perfect Way, his Word a tried Word, a Buckler to them that trust in him, and will make known his glorious Arm in the Sight of all Nations. And tho' we may suffer hard Things, yet he hath a gracious End, and will make a good End for his own Glory, and the Good of his People; therefore be chearful in the Lord your God, hold fast that which you have, and be not afraid of suffering; for God will make hard and bitter Things sweet and easy to all those that trust in him: Keep close to the good Confession you have made of Jesus Christ, and look to the Recompence of Reward; be not discouraged by reason of the Cloud that now is upon you; for the Sun will shine, and God will give a Testimony unto what he hath been a doing in a short Time.

And now I desire to commit my Concernments into the Hands of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, he that hath deliver'd himself for the chief of Sinners; he that came into the World, was made Flesh, and was crucified; that hath loved me, and washed me from my Sins in his own Blood, and is risen again, sitting at the right Hand of God, making Intercession for me.

And as for me, Oh! who am I? poor, base, vile Worm, that God should deal thus by me: for this will make me come the sooner into his Glory, and to inherit the Kingdom, and that Crown prepar'd for me! Oh, I have served a good Lord and Master, which hath helped me from my Beginning to this Day, and hath carried me thro' many Difficulties, Trials, Straits, and Temptations, and hath always been a very present Help in Time of Trouble; he hath cover'd my Head many times in the Day of Battle: By God I have leaped over a Wall; by God I have run thro' a Troop,

Troop, and by my God I will go thro' this Death, and he will make it easy to me. Now into thy Hands, O Lord Jesus, I commit my Spirit. *Then he was turn'd off.*

The CHARACTER of Col. THO. HARRISON.

The King being taken from *Hurst's-Castle*, was received by Col. *Harrison* with a strong Party of Horse, by whom he was to be conducted to *Windsor-Castle*. *Harrison* was the Son of a Butcher, near *Nantwich* in *Cheshire*, and had been bred up in the place of a Clerk under a Lawyer of good Account in those Parts; which kind of Education introduces Men into the Language and Practice of Business; and if it be not resisted by the great Ingenuity of the Person, inclines young Men to more Pride than any other kind of Breeding; and disposes them to be pragmatical and insolent, tho' they have the Skill to conceal it from their Masters, except they find them (as they are too often) inclined to cherish it. When the Rebellion first began, this Man quitted his Master, who had relation to the King's Service, and discharg'd his Duty faithfully, and put himself into the Parliament-Army, where having first obtained the Office of a Cornet, he got up, by Diligence and Sobriety, to the State of a Captain, without any signal Notice taken of him, till the new Model of the Army, when *Cromwel*, who possibly had Knowledge of him before, found him of a Spirit and Disposition fit for his Service, much given to Prayer and Preaching, and otherwise of an Understanding capable to be trusted in any Business, to which his Clerkship contributed very much, and then he was preferred very fast; so that by the Time the King was brought to the Army, he had been a Colonel of Horse,

and look'd upon as inferiour to few, after *Cromwel* and *Ireton*, in the Council of Officers, and in the Government of the Agitators; and there were few Men with whom *Cromwel* more communicated, or upon whom he more depended for the Conduct of any thing committed to him; he receiv'd the King with outward Respect, kept himself bare, but attended him with great Strictness, and was not to be approached by any Address, answering Questions in short and few Words, and when importun'd with Rudeness, he manifested an Apprehension that the King had some thought of making an Escape, and did things in order to prevent it. Being to lodge at *Windsor*, and so to pass by *Bagshot*, the King express'd a Desire to see his little Park at *Bagshot*, and so to dine at the Lodge there, a Place where he had used to take much Pleasure, and did not dissemble the knowing that the Lord *Newburgh*, who had lately married the Lady *Aubigney*, liv'd there, and said, he would send a Servant to let that Lady know that he would dine with her, that she might provide a Dinner for him. *Harrison* well knew the Affection of that Lord and Lady, and was very unwilling he should make any Stay there; but finding the King so fixt upon it, that he would not be otherwise remov'd from it, than by absolutely refusing him to go thither, he chose to consent, and that his Majesty should send a Servant, which he did the Night before he intended to dine there. Before the King came thither, *Harrison* had sent some Horse, with an Officer, to search the House, and all about the Park, that he might be sure no Company lurk'd which might make some Attempt. The King having spent three or four Hours at the Lord *Newburgh's* with very much Satisfaction to himself, tho' he was not suffer'd to be in any Room without the Com-

pany

pany of six or seven Soldiers, who suffer'd little to be spoken, except it was so loud that they could hear it too, he took a sad Farewel, appearing to have little Hopes of ever seeing 'em again. The Lord *Newburgh* rode some Miles into the Forest to wait upon the King, 'till he was requir'd by *Harrison* to return. In this Journey *Harrison* observing that the King had always an Apprehension that there was a Purpose to murder him, and had once let fall some Words of the Odioufness and Wickedness of such an Assassination and Murder, which could never be safe to the Person who undertook it : *Harrison* told him plainly, " That
 " he need not entertain any such Imagination or
 " Apprehension ; that the Parliament had too
 " much Honour and Justice to cherish so foul an
 " Intention, and assur'd him, that whatever the
 " Parliament resolv'd to do, would be very publick,
 " and in a way of Justice, to which the
 " World should be Witness, and never would endure a Thought of secret Violence." Which his Majesty could not persuade himself to believe, nor did imagin they durst ever produce him in the sight of the People, under any Form whatsoever of publick Tryal. *Clarend. Hist. Vol. III. p. 246.*

When *Cromwel* last model'd his Army, *Harrison* was discarded, with many other Officers who had the greatest Names in the Factions of Religion ; (*Clar. Vol. III. p. 595.*) They had gone very great Lengths with the Usurper ; but when he assum'd the Regal Power, and they found they were to be excluded any Share in the Government, they begun to shew their Disaffection to him, as they had done to their former Governours. And as the Protector well knew how to manage that Enthusiastick Zeal with which his Officers were inspir'd, to the Destruction of eve-

ry other Power; so when he had serv'd his Ends of them, he slighted the Opposition they pretended to make to his Tyranny, and shew'd them of how little Signification and Influence they were, when they had depriv'd themselves of his superiour Direction and Conduct.

The Execution of Mr. JOHN CAREW, the day of October 1660. as related by a Friend of his.

THE Day he suffer'd, and the Hour being come, the Rope being ty'd about him, he rejoyc'd exceedingly, saying, Oh ! What am I, that I should be bound for the Cause and Interest of the Son of God ? And when he was coming down *Newgate Stairs*, to go into the Sledge, in a very smiling, chearful manner, he utter'd Words to this effect ; My Lord Jesus, for the Joy that was set before him, endur'd the Cross, and despised the Shame, and is now set down on the right Hand of God ; whose Steps I desire to follow. It was also observ'd, that the Chearfulness of his Countenance, all the way as he went to the Gibbet, remain'd, to the Encouragement of the Faithful, and Admiration of Enemies, uttering by the way many chearful Expressions, setting forth his Joy in the Lord.

When he was brought to the Gibbet, before he went up the Ladder (his Hands being bound) he exhorted several Friends standing by, to be faithful unto Death, and not to be ashamed of the Cause for which they suffered, and they should receive a Crown of Life. And further said to a Friend that stood by, That he hoped the Truths of the Kingdom which he had preach'd up and down would not be the less esteemed, for that he came now to seal them with his Blood.

Mr. CAREW's

Mr. CAREW's Speech upon the Ladder.

TRuly, it is not Words, nor that which I have to speak in mine own Spirit, will glorify God, or give any Advantage to your Souls, or unto me : But it is, if I may speak a few Words in the Spirit of the Lord, and in the Power of his Might, and from an unfeigned Love unto Jesus Christ : That would indeed give me an open Entrance, and make my Passage very sweet ; and a Blessing may be behind, even upon you. The first thing (indeed) that hath been very weighty (and I desire to leave it upon all, upon Saints as well as upon those that are not acquainted with Jesus Christ) that Eternity, Immortality, and eternal Life, it is a wonderful thing ; the Thoughts and Apprehensions of it are able to swallow up a poor Soul : We little think what it is ; he that knows most of God, and most of Christ, and hath the greatest Measure of the Anointing, he little, little knows what it is to appear before the holy, the most glorious, the most righteous God of Heaven and Earth ; to stand before his Judgment Seat, before Jesus Christ that is at his Right Hand : And where all the holy Angels are so ashamed (because of the Glory of God) that they fall down and cover their Faces, and cry *Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty, which art, and wast, and art to come.* And therefore, if such glorious Creatures, if such excellent Spirits as these Seraphins and Cherubins be, if they do fall down before the Glory and Majesty of this most excellent and wonderful God, how should Dust and Ashes do ? And how should they fear and tremble to appear before him ? And therefore, I say, think of this, and of the Righteousness of God, as well as of his Glory and Majesty, and of his Justice ; that
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when for one Sin he threw down the Angels (those glorious Spirits) into Hell, and he would take no Ransom or Redemption for them ; and tho' he hath Mercy on the Sons of Men (according to his own Election and Purpose, and according to that that he hath purchased for himself in Christ Jesus before the Foundation of the World was laid) yet in time he made his Son a Sacrifice before Men and Angels, to bring his chosen ones to Glory. That he should take Pleasure to send his own Son out of his Bosom, who was the Delight of his Soul, and bruise him for our Sins ; yet it pleased the Father to bruise him. The most holy and righteous God, that had but one Son, one only begotten Son (that was the Delight of his Soul) and should take Pleasure to bruise him, that we might be healed, and laid Stripes upon him that we might be healed ! Oh ! the Heighth and Depth, Oh ! the Length and Breadth of the Love of God in Christ Jesus unto poor Souls. Oh ! this is that the Angels do desire to stoop down and look into, and to know more of this great Mystery of the Love of God in Christ : And that God should take upon him the Nature of Man, and put him into that glorious Union with his own Son ; and that he should leave the Angels, tho' Christ was made a little lower than they for suffering Death for us : Yet now, because the Nature of Man is united to the Godhead by virtue of that Marriage and Union, we become the Sons of God, and Heirs of Glory. Those that are adopted by Jesus Christ are brought near to the Throne of Glory, are in a high and glorious Communion and Fellowship with the Father and Spirit, owned of all the holy Angels. And therefore they do stand without the Throne (as in several Places of the *Revelations*) and round about the Elders, and round about
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those that were given to the Lamb (as in the fifth of the Revelations, and many other Scriptures) they stand without; but there is another Company within, which is the 24 Elders, and four living Creatures, they fall down and worship God, they are nearer than the Angels; Oh! who hath credited, who hath believed this Report, and to whom is the Arm of the Lord revealed? Oh! how many Professors are there in this Day, in this Nation, that call upon the Name of Christ, and that say they shall be saved by Christ, and do live and trust most in their own Works and Righteousness; and never come to the Knowledge and Understanding of this great Mystery of the Love of God in Christ? who never received those Teachings from the Anointing, and according to the new Covenant, where it is promised, that they shall be all taught of God; all the Children of God shall be taught of him, and there is no one can teach these but the Father, none can draw them to the Son but the Father; and no Man can come to the Father but through the Son: And this great Mystery is both by the Light and Operation of the holy Spirit, who makes the new Creature in the Soul: O that God would pour out of his holy Spirit; that God would pour out the Spirit of the new Covenant, and the Spirit of the Gospel, and the Spirit that can declare the Mystery of God's Word in the Spirit, and that he hath made manifest through Jesus Christ. Oh! there is much talking and speaking in the Name of Christ, and how many Men spend little time in getting Evidences in the Power and Demonstration of the Spirit, and come to apprehend God in Christ, *that speak of him? Oh! there are few of these the Lord knows. O that the anointing may be poured out more now, according to this Faith, in the way of this Grace,
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and in this Love of God, even in the electing Love of the Father; and in the redeeming Blood of Jesus Christ, according to the purchased Possession that he hath obtained through his own Righteousness, wherein God hath been just also, in justifying the Ungodly; and among them, such a poor simple Piece of Dust and Ashes as I have been, and have to this Day little glorified my Father; and yet I can call him Father, thro' some measure of his Spirit, and Father according to the Spirit of Adoption too; and can say the Lord Jesus hath given himself for me, and I take the Lord Jesus Christ as the great Gift of the Father, desiring to bear witness of that Love, and of that wonderful Grace and Glory, that he hath made me Partaker of in and thro' him. Oh! blessed be the God and Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath called me to this Hope, and who hath made me Partaker of this Glory, that the Saints are enlightned in. And now I long to see the Face of this Father, and of his Son, tho' I have such a Number of Sins in me; and tho' I have an Interest in him, and can call him Father at any time without doubt, and in full Assurance of Faith in the holy Spirit; yet if Jesus Christ were not there, to present me faultless before the Presence of God, I should be afraid to appear before him; but he is able to do it, and therefore saith the Apostle, *Now unto him that is able to save you, and to present you faultless before the Presence of his Glory with exceeding Joy, &c.* I am a poor sinful Piece, full of Iniquity, laden with many Burdens, that have a Body of Death that I carry about me, and I am now about to lay it down, and my Soul shall enter into eternal Life, and be made perfect in a Moment, thro' the mighty Power of God that hath wrought that glorious Work of raising Christ from the Dead,
Oh!

Oh! all my Strength, and all my Joy, and all my Life is in Christ, and in him alone; and I have a Righteousness already of his working, according to his own Grace, and according to his own mighty Power, and according to his own Mercy, that he hath been pleased to work in me; and so hath been pleased to keep me in a very wicked and in a very evil Day, by the Power of his Grace. And I desire to glorify my Father, and many Years have I been in that Work, that hath been of late in this Nation; a few and evil have been the Days of my Pilgrimage, but I have desired to serve the Lord with Faithfulness, and in the Integrity of my Soul, without Prejudice against any Creature, and it hath been the Desire of my Soul to approve my self faithful towards God, and towards Man: And what I have done, I have done it in Obedience to the Lord; that I had in my Eye, and in my Heart. There are many things laid upon many of those that profess the Kingdom and glorious Appearance of Jesus Christ, as if they were Enemies to Magistracy and Ministry; and, as if so be we were for the Destruction of the Laws and Properties of Mankind; therefore shall I speak a few Words unto that: And if indeed we were such, we were fit to be turn'd out of the World; as some now think they should do God good Service in sending such poor Creatures quickly from hence. There is no such thing; I desire to bear Witness to the true Magistracy, that Magistracy that is in the Word of the Lord. And that true Ministry, which Ministry is a Ministry from the Anointing; that doth bear Witness to the Lord Jesus, and hath his holy Spirit. That Testimony I desire to bear; and that Testimony I desire to stand faithful in, with Integrity to the Lord Jesus, as King of Saints, and King of Nations. And therefore

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it is, I say, to have a Magistracy as at the first, and Counsellors as at the beginning, Men fearing God and hating Covetousness. And that Ministry as doth preach the everlasting Gospel.

Here Mr. Sheriff interrupted him, saying, *'Tis desired that you spend the rest of your Time in preparing your self.* Another said, *You spend your self, Sir, in this Discourse.* Another said, *It rains.* Then Mr. Carew said, *I will pray.*

His Prayer being ended, a Friend that stood by said, *It is expected you should speak something to the Matter of your Suffering.* The Under-Sheriff said, *'Tis not to be suffer'd, What are you, that you put on Men to speak? What are you, Sir?*

Mr. Carew said, *Farewel my dear Friends, farewel; the Lord keep you faithful.* The Friend said, *We part with you with much Joy in our Souls.*

Mr. Carew said to the Executioner, *Stay a while, I will speak one Word,* and then said very solemnly with a loud Voice, *Lord Jesus receive my Soul, Lord Jesus into thy Arms I commend my Spirit.* And then was turn'd off.

Mr. JOHN COOKE's Execution, the 16th Day of October, 1660, as related by a Friend of his.

Mr. Cooke to Mr. Peters in the Dungeon said.

Brother Peters, we shall be in Heaven to morrow in Bliss and Glory; what a blessed Thing is that? my very Heart leaps within me for Joy; I am now just as I was in the Storm, almost in Sight of Heaven; read me *Isaiah 43. 9, 10. Isa. 61. 10, 11. Hos. 13. 14.*

Then looking upon his Bed, said, that shall be my last Pillow; I will lay me down and sleep a while, and he slept about an Hour and half, and then awoke, saying, Now farewel Sleep, no more Sleep in this World, and farewel Darkness
and

and Night, I am going where there shall be no Night, neither need of a Candle, nor of the Sun, for the Lord will give us Light, yea, *the Lord will be our everlasting Light, and our God will be our Glory.*

And welcome every Thing that gives Notice the Hour is at Hand, welcome the Cock that crows, welcome sweet Death, my good Friend, that will bring me so near Eternity. O blessed be God, blessed be his Name ; Oh this Christ is a blessed Christ ! he answereth all Things, and within few Hours we shall be crown'd with Glory and Victory ; blessed be our Lord Jesus that hath given us the Victory over Sin and Death. Welcome Mr. *Loman*, my Keeper, welcome Angels, that will within a few Hours take the Office, and guard me into Eternity.

At Midnight he pray'd very fervently, and the common Prisoners heard him, and seem'd very sorrowful by their Expressions, saying, Sir, the Lord be with you ; O that our Souls might go where your Soul goes.

About the Morning, speaking to Mrs. *Cooke*, said, Lamb do not dishonour my last Wedding-day by any Trouble for me : For if all my Judges did but know what Glory I shall be in before twelve a-clock, they would desire to be with me.

And let the Executioner make what haste he can, I shall be before-hand with him ; for before he can say, here is the Head of a Traitor, I shall be in Heaven. *Come Lord Jesus, come quickly, my Soul longeth for thee, and I wait to hear thy Voice, saying, come up hither, and immediately I shall be in the Spirit, and then shall I for ever be with the Lord.* And at Midnight there was a Cry heard, the Bridegroom cometh, and they that were ready went in
unto

unto the Marriage ; *This Day I shall enter into the Joy of my Lord.*

Come, Brother *Peters*, let us knock at Heaven Gates this Morning, God will open the Doors of Eternity to us before twelve a-clock, and let us into that innumerable Company of Saints and Angels, *and to the Souls of just Men made perfect*, and then we shall never part more, but be with the Lord for ever and ever, singing Praises, singing Praises to our Lord and everlasting King to all Eternity : He said further, O what a good Master have I serv'd, that stands by me now, and supports me ! with his everlasting Arm he bears me up ; then said, *Come away my beloved, make haste, and be thou like unto a young Roe, or a young Hart upon the Mountains of Spices.* Behold I come Lord Jesus, I come full Sail to thee, I come upon the Wing of Faith, Lord Jesus receive me ; and going to lie down upon his Bed, he said, It is no more to go to die to morrow than it is to go to sleep to night. I bless the Lord I am free from Trouble, and my poor Heart is as full of spiritual Comfort as ever it can hold, *and this Joy can no Man take from me.*

The Doors of the Prison being open'd in the Morning, he spent that little Time he had left in Prayer and heavenly Discourse with Friends that came to visit him, preparing himself for his Suffering, with such a Chearfulness, as was an Astonishment to the Spectators.

Then speaking to his Wife, said, Farewel my dear Lamb, I am now going to the Souls under the Altar, that cry, How long, O Lord, Holy and True, dost thou not judge and avenge our Blood on them that dwell on Earth ? and when I am gone, my Blood will cry and do them more Hurt than if I had liv'd. But I am now going to Eternity, blessed be God, be not troubled for me,
but

but rejoice, because I go to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God. And after some Time spent in Prayer, he desir'd his Wife not to with-hold him by an Unwillingness to part with him now, when God call'd for him, to be offer'd up as a Sacrifice for his Name and Cause.

After a little Pause, she freely gave him up to the Lord ; to which he replied, Now all the Work is done, and said, I resign thee up to Jesus Christ, to be thy Husband, to whom also I am going to be married in Glory this Day.

His Wife shedding Tears, he said, Why weep-est thou ? let them weep who part and shall never meet again ; but I am confident we shall have a glorious Meeting in Heaven ; here our Comforts have been mixt with Chequer-work of Troubles, but in Heaven all Tears shall be wip'd from our Eyes.

He ask'd several times if the Sheriff was not come, saying, why stay the Wheels of his Chariot ? why do they drive so heavily ? I am ready, blessed be God, I have nothing to do but to die.

Word being brought that the Sheriff was come, he makes haste to be gone, and his Wife stepping after him, took him by the Arm ; whereupon he said, *O do not hinder me from going to Jesus Christ !*

And then with a chearful Countenance, taking leave of his Friends, he went to the Sledge that carried him, whereon was also carried the Head of Major General *Thomas Harrison*, with the Face bare towards him ; and notwithstanding that dismal Sight, he pass'd rejoicingly thro' the Streets, as one borne up by that Spirit, which Man could not cast down. Being come to the Place of Execution, when he was taken out of the Sledge, he said, *This is the easiest Chariot that ever I rid in in all my Life.*

Being come upon the Ladder, and the Rope put about his Neck, he rejoiced, saying, *Blessed be the Name of God, that I am bound for the sake of Christ.*

Then he address'd himself to God in Prayer.

Having ended his Prayer, he made the following Speech :

Mr. Sheriff and Gentlemen,

TH E most glorious Sight that ever was seen in the World was our Lord Jesus Christ upon the Cross ; and the most glorious Sight next to that, is to see any poor Creature suffer for him in his Cause.

I desire to speak a few Words briefly, to let you understand what a glorious Work the Lord hath been pleas'd to accomplish upon my Spirit. I bless the Lord, I have ransack'd into every Corner of my Heart, and I have searched into all my Sins, actual and original, secret and open, known and unknown, so far as the Lord hath discover'd them to me ; and I have confessed them all with a penitential bleeding Heart, and contrite Spirit ; blessed be his Name, he hath been pleas'd to come in abundant manner, and hath been pleas'd to shew me that the only Remedy is the Blood of Christ ; and I have, blessed be the Lord, applied that precious Blood to my poor Soul, and have laid hold upon a Christ, by a true and lively Faith ; and there is a sweet Calm and Serenity in my Soul and Conscience, blessed be thy Name. I desire to glorify God, and to give him the Glory of all, and to take Shame unto myself for any Sins that I have ever committed, that I know to be Sin ; and therefore, I desire to rejoice in the God of my Salvation ; as *Isa. 61. 10. I will greatly rejoice in the Lord, my Soul shall be joyful in my God, for he hath cloathed me with the Garment of Sal-*

vation ;

vation ; he hath cover'd me with the Robe of Righteousness, as a Bridegroom decketh himself with Ornaments : And as a Bride adorneth herself with Jewels, even so the Lord delighteth in me. And as the Earth bringeth forth her Buds, and as the Garden causeth the things that are sown in it to spring forth, so the Lord will cause Righteousness and Praise to spring forth before all Nations.

And *Isaiah* 43. 9, 10. *Ye are my Witnesses, saith the Lord, I do desire to bear a Testimony unto God, and to Jesus Christ, for Justice and Truth, and Righteousness and Holiness.*

The Lord knows I have no Malice upon my Heart against any Man or Woman living upon the Face of the Earth ; neither against Jury that found me guilty, nor Court that passed Sentence ; I desire freely to forgive every one from the Bottom of my Heart. And as concerning this great Dispensation, you may (it may be) desire to hear something of it. Truly, I say, As to the King's Majesty, I have not any hard Thoughts concerning him : My Prayer shall be for him that his Throne may be upheld by Truth, and by Mercy ; for by Mercy, as *Prov.* 23. *the Throne is upheld.* But I must needs say, that poor we have been bought and sold by our Brethren, as *Joseph* was.

Brother hath betray'd Brother to Death ; and that Scripture is in a great Measure fulfill'd, *Mat.* 10. 21. *The Father against the Son, and the Son against the Father ; and Brother shall deliver up Brother to Death.* I desire for my own Part to kiss the Rod ; and I do desire (if it may please the King's Majesty) that no more Blood may be shed after mine : It may be the Lord will put it into his own Breast.

Here is a poor Brother coming, I am afraid that he is not fit to die at this Time ; I could wish that his Majesty might shew some Mercy.

The Sheriff interrupted in Words to this effect : *Let that alone, for the King's Majesty hath Clemency enough for all but his Father's Murderers.*

Mr. Cooke replied, Then I shall proceed to speak something concerning my Profession and Faith, which, I bless the Lord, is founded upon the Rock Christ Jesus. I do not expect Salvation for any thing I have ever done, but only lay hold upon Christ as a naked Christ, and there to bottom my Soul.

I can say, to the Praise and Glory of God, that I have endeavour'd in my Place, and to my Power, to do that which might be to God's Glory, according to the best of my Understanding. I have stood for a Gospel Magistracy and Ministry, and that many Delays in the Law might be removed, (and that thing I have much suffer'd for) I say it's good both for King and People, that many Delays in Matter of Justice should be removed, and that publick Justice might be speedily and cheaply administred.

And as for my Profession, I am of the congregational Way ; I desire to own it, and am for Liberty of Conscience, and all that walk humbly and holily before the Lord ; and desire to walk in the Fear of the Lord, and I believe it is a Truth, and there can be nothing said against it. I do confess I am not convinc'd of any thing I have done amiss, as to that I have been charg'd with, I am not indeed ; neither did I understand the Plea of the Court ; that if the Lords and Commons had brought the King to the Bar, and had set him over them again, their bringing him to the Bar had been Treason.

I desire never to repent of any thing therein I have done ; but I desire to own the Cause of God and Christ ; and am here to bear witness to it,
and

and so far as I know any thing of myself, I can freely confefs it.

Here the Sheriff interrupted him again, desiring him to forbear any such Expressions.

Mr. Cooke replied, It hath not been the Manner of *English* Men to insult over a dying Man, nor in other Countries among *Turks* or *Galliaffes*.

The Lord bless every one of us, and help us, that we may look more to the Honour and Glory of God than the Concernments of our own Lives : For alas, what is a poor miserable Life to us, but that therein we might give Honour and Glory to the God of all our Mercies ?

And if there be any here of that Congregation to which I was related in the time that I lived here, I would commend to them that Scripture, *Phil. 2. 17, 18. Yea, and if I be offer'd up upon the Sacrifice and Service of the Faith, I joy and rejoice with you all, for the same Cause also do you joy and rejoice with me. And Deut. 18. 11. The Lord God of your Fathers make you a thousand times more than you are, and bless you as he hath promised. The Lord be pleas'd to speak Comfort to them, and to all them that fear the Lord.*

The Lord keep *England* from Popery, and from Superstition, and keep it from Prophaneness, and that there may not be an Inundation of Antichrist in the Land. And that is all the Harm I wish unto it.

The Lord hath forgiven me many thousand Talents, and therefore I may well forgive those few Pence that are owing unto me. I bless the Lord I have nothing lying upon my Conscience, but I can unbosom myself to every one, and to the Throne of free Grace, in the Simplicity of my Spirit ; I have endeavour'd to do nothing but with a good Conscience, and thro' the Integrity

of my Heart, tho' accompanied with many Frailties.

I desire to bless the Lord, my Lot was rather in *Ireland* than here, here I have been more known where I have given the Offence.

The Sheriff again interrupted him,

Mr. *Cooke* replies, Sir, I pray take notice of it, I think I am the first Man that ever was hanged for demanding of Justice, therefore I hope you will not interrupt me.

I suppose you were there, and do bear me witness in your Conscience, that there was not any thing then, that I did not communicate to the Court, that I now speak upon the Ladder.

If you will believe the Words of a dying Man, I say, as I must give an Account, I have nothing lieth upon my Conscience. We must all meet together at the great Day of the Lord, to give an Account of all our Actions, (and then it will appear) the Lord grant we may meet with Joy and Comfort.

I have a poor Wife and Child, and some Friends left, I desire you that come along with me, to commend to them *Isai.* 54. 4. 5, and 10 ver.

I hope the King and Parliament will consider our poor Friends as to their Estates, you know that those Lords that formerly suffer'd under the Parliament, did not lose all their Estates; I hope there will be some Consideration as to Justice, (lest that our small Estates prove a Poison amongst their great deal) and my poor Wife and Relations suffer.

The Lord grant that Mercy may be shewed, that Mercy and Righteousness may magnify and exalt itself above Justice. I shall not hold you long; I shall desire, in the Fear of the Lord, to give myself (as in *Rom.* 12. 1,) *A living Sacrifice,*

Holy

Holy and acceptable unto God, which is but a reasonable Service.

And so I do intreat that I may have a little Time to call upon the Lord, unless there be any thing more desir'd, or any one that would ask me a Question.

Truly I forgive all from my Heart, I have nothing upon my Heart to accuse any of them withal. I bless the Lord I have a clear Conscience, I say it in the Integrity and Simplicity of my Heart, (I do now appeal to the great God, to whom I must give an Account of what I have done) knowing that all my Guilt is washed away in the Blood of Jesus Christ, (and before him I hope to appear) and have nothing else to plead any thing at all for me.

And so I hope that I have declar'd myself with Simplicity and Integrity, in a few Words, that you may understand my Mind.

Then he went to his Prayers again; after which he was turn'd off.

A Letter written from the Tower to a Christian Friend by Mr. COOKE.

S I R,

NOW, in answer to your loving Inquiry, how it fares with my better Part, I bless God I never found so much internal spiritual Solace and unmixt Joy and Comfort, as I have experimented in these five Months Indurance, 2 Cor. i. 3, 4, 5. Let never any Christian fear a Prison, it being the only Place, where (wanting other Books) a Man may best study the Book of the Knowledge of himself, having a long Vacation from all Business; but praying unto, and praising God in Christ, by the Spirit's Assistance. I cannot take *Martha's* Part, for none must come

to me ; nor *Mary's* Part, to wait upon the Ordinances, which my Soul thirsts after ; therefore my Chamber is like the *Sanctum sanctorum*, where wittingly none may enter but the High Priest of our Profession, the Lord Jesus. I did not think that there had been so much Ignorance, Impotence, Impatience, Ingratitude, Pride, inordinate Affection to Creature Comforts, Revenge, Diffidence of God, Self-love, and Iniquity of all sorts in me, as I find there is ; who am not only a poor Sinner, but Sin itself, a very Mass of Sin. I find it very hard to rely nakedly on God's Goodness, not to feel the Heat of Persecution, not to be careful when all is taken away, *Jer.* 7. 17. Lo, so this Darkness and Filthiness of Spirit is only discovered by the Light of Christ, by whose Lowliness in washing the Apostles Feet, I see my Loftiness and want of Condescension when I had Power ; by his Patience, my many Passions and Heart-risings against Instruments ; by his Obedience to the Death, my Reluctancies ; by his Faithfulness, my former Back-slidings ; by his Fruitfulness, and doing God, *Acts* 10. 38. my Barrenness, and the little Good I did when I had Opportunity ; and by his Liberality, my Penuriousness ; whereby I adore and acknowledge his Justice that he hath most righteously depriv'd me of my Liberty and Estate ; all which drives me nearer to Christ, and makes me take faster hold of his Righteousness. I now understand (through Grace) how precious he is, *1 Pet.* 2. 7. if it were not for Christ, what a miserable Condition were I now in, that might suddenly be sent to contend with the Wrath of God in everlasting Burnings ? and this makes me love Christ the more, having forgiven me more than others ; and having had ten thousand Talents forgiven me, I would forgive any Wrongdoers ; and this keeps me humble, and from Cen-

foriousness.

soriousness. I bless God I have ransack'd into every Corner of my Soul, I have with *David, Job, Esay, and Paul*, bewailed my hereditary Disease and Heart-corruption. I feel it is as a rotten Tooth that akes, would fain be rid of it, and have condemn'd myself for it, cried out against it, as the ravished Damsel, *Deut. 22. 26.* The like for Sins done in my Inclination, which by preventing Grace are secret, and only known to God; and I have mourned over my secret Sins, only known to God and myself; over the Sins of my Youth, which were committed faster than can be nam'd; for those which I did not know to be Sin, and those that I have forgotten; and especially for my actually known Sins, committed against Love and Light, Promises and Covenants. I have confess'd them all with a heavy bleeding, broken and contrite Spirit; and O that I had all Sin, as Sin, in a greater Execration! my Grief is for having offended so gracious a Father, that will not damn me for it; if there were no Hell nor Judge, I would rather die than willingly offend him any more, and I cannot satisfy divine Justice for one vain Thought, therefore I fly to Christ, and close with him, upon a free Promise, as a poor Penitent Sinner; no Merits but the Merits of my Saviour; I take in whole Christ, and not one Drop of my puddled Water shall be mingled with the Ocean of his pure and perfect Righteousness; and I give up myself wholly to him, as by a Deed of Gift, to be at his Dispose; and I know he hath receiv'd me; *I am my Beloved's, and my Beloved is mine*, and all is mine, *1 Cor. 3. 22.* Death itself; I have a sweet Certificate from Heaven of the Pardon of Sin, Justification, Reconciliation, and Adoption. I know God's Heart, and his Eyes are upon me pepetually, *2 Cor. 2. 15.* That no tender Father, or Mother, can have so special a
 Care

Care of any sick, imprisoned Child, as he hath of me. I believe that God, who hath given a Property to the Needle to keep fixt, tho' the Ship overturn, will keep me faithful to the Death, and that I shall receive the Crown of Life, and stand with as much Confidence at the great Day, as if I had never sinned; and herein I am confirmed by the Testimony of the Spirit, and Scripture Evidences.

Blessed be God I do love the Saints; every one that suffers in this Cause is as dear to me as my own Soul; my Sighs have been many, and my Heart faint, since I came hither, not for my own Condition (for it is happy) but for the Afflictions of *Joseph*; scarce a poor Saint permitted to breath in *Irish* Air: Those that will not swear and be drunk, or have Prayer in their Families, are counted Fanaticks, *Esa. 50. 15.* I have a dear Respect to all God's Commandments, spiritual Joy is no Stranger to me: I love the Word and Ordinances more than my appointed Food. I desire that all my Thoughts, Words and Actions, may please God, and that all that he does may please me; and I do freely forgive my Adversaries, the Lord herein encrease my Faith, *Luke 17. 5.* and I bless God I have a quiet Conscience as to the World, and which is good also for being justified by Christ, apprehended by Faith. I have Peace with God, *Rom. 5. 1.* and so I descend to the Cause for which I am in Bonds, which is as good as ever it was; and I believe there is not a Saint that hath engaged with us, but will wish at the last Day that he had sealed to the Truth of it with his Blood, if thereunto called; for I am satisfied that it is the most noble and glorious Cause that has been agitated for God and Christ since the Apostolical Times; being for Truth, Holiness, and Righteousness, for our Liberties as
Men

Men and as Christians, for removing of all Yokes and Oppressions, for a Gospel Magistracy and Ministry, and not only for the Priestly and Prophetical Offices of Christ Jesus, but for his Kingly also : The peculiar Light and Work of this Generation being to discover and oppose the Civil and Ecclesiastical Tyrannies intended upon the Nations, by the Pope's *Leger-de-main*, to exalt Christ as Lord and King over Mens Consciences, to magnify and make the Law of God honourable, and authentick every where, and to give Justice and Mercy the upper Hand. As I hear nothing what they intend to do with me, so I am not much solicitous about it ; I do freely trust God to make what Bargain for me he pleases. I believe they are as angry with me as any Man in the Nations, because *Litera Scripta manet*, but their Cause requires rather Silence than Eloquence ; as for that against Monarchy unaccountable they will be ashamed to oppose it, that which teaches thence, is the stating the Case, for which I had Vouchers, and Warrants for every Word, but now they plow with our Heifers ; yet great is the Truth, and that will prevail, as for petitioning there is not any. I cannot confess any Guilt, it is such a Cause that the Martyrs would gladly come again from Heaven to suffer for, if they might, tho' too many object against me, 1 Pet. 4. 15. *Let none of you suffer as a Murderer* : I look upon it as the most noble and highest Act of Justice that our Story can parallel ; and so far as I had a Hand in it, never any one Action in all my Life comes to my Mind with less regret, or trouble of Conscience than that does ; for the Blood must lie upon him, or the Parliament ; and I am sure I had no more Malice in my Heart, than when I was in my Cradle : All that I can be sorry for, is, that I had not such pure,
and

and unbyass'd Aims, as the Glory of God and Exaltation of Christ therein, as I should have had; I neither did any thing *dubitante*, or *reluctante Conscientia*; I was so far from a Gain-saying Conscience in any thing I acted, that I never scrupled in the least, and the Generality of the People have since owned it: I was in Mercy a poor Advocate for Christ, and the People of *England*; and if by my Blood their Cause may be watered, I say (as *Phil. 2. 17, 18.*) to you and the rest of the Church of Christ, if I be offer'd upon the Sacrifice and Service of your Faith, let us rejoice together: It has been counted shameful for Soldiers to run from their Colours, or desert their Masters, and Principles, but it is more odious for a Counsellor to prevaricate and betray his Client's Cause: I am persuaded that all those that have had a chief Hand, and are now giving Judgment against themselves, and all good People, in all those Points which they formerly contended for, against the King; as the Lawfulness of the War, which was granted both here and at *Edenburgh*; the Militia, negative Voice, Power to dissolve Parliaments, conferring great Offices (as King *James* said, *so long as I make Bishops and Judges, I will have what Religion and Laws I please*) As they are most abominable Prevaricators of the honest Interest, for they will wish, at the last Day, that they had been *Jews, Turks, or Indians*; for the greater Light, the greater is their Apostacy and Ingratitude, *2 Pet. 2. 21.* and sure they will have a peculiar Judgment by themselves; for they do openly proclaim the Cause of *Barrabas* before the Cause of *Jesus*. *Peter* denied Christ, and *Judas* betray'd him; but it was before his Passion and Ascension, they never saw the wonderful Works which our Eyes have beheld; but what shall we say, If the Treachery of *Judas* help forward the

Work

Work of our Salvation, why may we not hope that God is whetting his Tools, and gone back to fetch a greater Blow against his Oppressors? *Isaac* must not die, tho' the Knife be at his Throat, *Gen.* 12. 14. our Case seems to be like theirs; under proud *Haman* the Gallows was erected, but the Royal Seed preserved, *Hest.* 6. 13. *Numb.* 23. The Story of *Balaam* is much upon my Heart, the Shout of King Jesus to reign in Holiness and Righteousness is among his People, I hope as much as ever; and there is no Inchantment against *Jacob*, therefore he must not be afraid; I am perswaded we shall fare the better for the thousand Curses we had between *Chester* and *London*, *2 Sam.* 16. 12.

Now having endeavour'd to satisfy you that the great Work is over, as to my eternal Salvation, and my Opinion of the Goodness of our Cause; I shall further entreat your Patience to tell you that I am fully convinc'd, that next to that unspeakable Gift of Christ, the greatest Grace and Mercy that God can bestow upon any of us, is to call for and enable us to lay down our Lives upon this Account; suffering for Christ being a strong Argument of his Electing Love, *Acts* ix. 15, 16. and a greater matter of rejoycing, *Acts* xxiii. 11. Be of good cheer *Paul*; therefore he forbids Tears for him upon that score, *Acts* xxi. 13. and I have charged my poor Lamb not to wear any Black for me (if she have wherewith to buy it;) for I shall be in *White*, *Rev.* vi. 11. the Apostle rejoyced to be counted worthy to suffer Shame for Christ, and would not but speak what they saw with the Eyes of Faith, and heard with the Ears of the Spirit, *Acts* iv. 20. and v. 41. and *Paul* gloried in the Tribulation, rejoycing in hope of the Glory of God, *Rom.* v. 23. and took pleasure in Reproaches, Necessity, and
Perse-

Persecutions for Christ, 2 *Cor.* xii. 10. so *Moses*, *Heb.* xi. 26. for the Recompence of Reward which is God himself, *Gen.* xv. 1. and the Times cannot be so full of Terrour and Discouragement as the Scriptures are full of Comfort and Incitations in this particular, to us the Lord's Prisoners, *Mat.* v. 10, 12. why are we sorrowful when Christ bids us to be joyful? *Mat.* x. 25, 27. There is no Safety but to be on Christ's Side; for the Son of Man shall come in his Glory, and the Saints also, *Mark* viii. 33, 38. they are not the Words of a Child, but of Christ, not spoken to affright us, but for our Animadversion; Oh this perfidious Generation! How will that Word be made good to the Amazement of our timorous Professors, *John* xvi. 21. The Ax or a Halter will be less Pain than the Pangs of Child-birth, *John* xv. 18, 21. we are in nothing to be terrify'd, 1 *Phil.* xxviii. 29. Constancy in suffering for good Principles is matter of Glory in the Churches, and Tribulation will be the Portion of our Troubles, 2 *Thes.* i. 4. to the end is very precious, 1 *Thes.* iii. 8. we live if we stand fast in the Lord: I know you, and my dear Brethren and Sisters are of *Paul's* Mind; if I die in my Bed, being a Church-Member, you will, by the Rule of Charity, judge me happy; I cannot do you more Service than to bear my Witness in this Cause of Christ, wherein you are so much concern'd; I find our Text appropriate to our Condition, *John* xii. 23. to 27. Christ's Death was like sowing of Corn, which seem'd lost, but was our Life; so he that counts not his Life dear for Christ, tho' the World count him miserable, yet he hath two special Promises to be where Christ is, and that the Father will honour him, it is a following of Christ in dying for him, actively or in Affection, as appears, *Joh.* xiii. 36. xxi. 19.

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by a Conformity to his Death, *Phil. iii. 10. Rev. xiv. 3.* some read which died for the Lord, as *Rev. xx. 4.* and *xix. 10.* which now is counted as bad as Treason, *Heb. xii.* has an ineffable Sweetness in it, *Chap. xi.* is the little Book of Martyrs, *xii. 1.* the Spirit says, follow your Leaders, he is a Coward that will not follow such free Examples; Christ and the Saints behold you, and ye are Witnesses for Christ as they were, but must forsake all Sin, especially your *Dalilabs, Herodias, and Rimmons,* and strive against it; and ye have need of Patience, but ye will faint and be weary, unless ye look unto Jesus and fear not, for he is as well the Finisher of your Faith as the Father of it, he despised the Shame; what need you care if they say behold the Head, or the Heart of a Traytor, when your better Part is in Heaven, and reproves us for being too parsimonious of our Blood? we must be prepared for suffering, *cruore sanctorum rigatur Ecclesia.* Luther was troubled that he carried his Blood to his Grave, he loved the Christ's Cross more than the 24 Letters, and loved not half-Christians, that were only for doing and not for suffering; and tho' our Sin deserve Death, as from the Lord, yet our Enemies mind them not, they punish us for being Judges, Advocates, and Soldiers for our Lord Jesus, *Psal. xxxviii. 20.*

And as the spiritual Man overcomes the Animal, so I am reasoning myself against Sense into a Willingness to die, for either the Times will be better or worse; is there not in probability a great Flood of Oppression and Persecution coming upon the Godly? Will not the righteous Soul of a just Lot be vexed with the horrible Prophaneness, Malignity, and Contempt of Christ's pure Ordinances that abound every where? We have heard Justice and Tyranny, Truth and Falshood, the Form and the Power of Godliness pleading together,

ther, and Judgment was given for God and his People ; but all seems to be revers'd, and what was but *injurie* or *nesciente* before, is now a formal and material Contempt, and Despight to God and Christ, and the Spirit of Grace in whomsoever breathing ; and what Comfort is there in a Son, if the Ark be taken, 1 *Sam.* iv. 20, 21. she regarded it not, the Blessing is to see our Children with Peace upon *Israel*, *Psal.* cxxviii. 5, 6. it is a Mercy to be taken away from the Evil to come, *Esay* lvii. 1. bestowed upon *Josiah* as a Favour, being tender-hearted, 2 *Kings* xxiii. 19. 'tis a rich Mercy to get into our heavenly House and Harbour before the Storm come, 2 *Cor.* v. how much more blessed to give our polluted Blood for his sake who shed his most precious Blood for us ? and if the Times prove good, for civil or sacred Liberties ; *Moses* envied not those that were to go into *Canaan*, because he was invested with a better Possession, a heavenly Country, *Heb.* xi. 16. if there be such glorious Times to be expected upon Earth as you and I have discoursed of, I am sure there is no less Joy in Heaven ; and we that are there shall have no Cause to envy our militant Brethren ; besides, as for myself, I can expect to do little for God, I am three parts dead, 70 being divided into four, the Shadows of the Evening are upon me, and Aches and Pains are inseparable Companions ; if now Christ should graciously accept of my poor crazy Body, and bring me to an honourable and easy Death for him, blessed be his Name for ever, 1 *Chr.* xxix. 10. to 16. The Heathen could say, *Dulce est pro patria mori, pro Christo mori dulcissimum.* How did the *Romans* glory to die for their Liberties, and after for the Glory of their *Cæsars* ? And how glad are the poor *Spaniards* and *Muscovites* that they have a Life, a Wife, or a Son, for their King ? And how glad are the
City

City that their Feastings will be receiv'd ? A Popish Friar told me lately, that if he were of my Opinion for Assurance of Salvation, he would not willingly live an Hour longer for all *Ireland*; yet Saints too much fear this grim Porter Death, tho' when executed we go from the Cross to the Crown, *Jam. i. 12.* Indeed it is below the Profession that we have made, to be now troubled; in Prosperity I would be a Worm, but now the Lord makes us bold as Lions, that being call'd to suffer after so blessed an Example, we may think it an Honour to pledge our Master in his own Cup, and commit the keeping of our Souls to him in well-doing as unto a faithful Creator, *1 Pet. ii. 21. and iv. 19.* for he will never leave nor forsake us, but will give us Shoulders to bear what he lays upon us, *1 Cor. x. 13.* Let us therefore who are the Children of *Zion* be joyful in our King, as others (who one day will appear to be Fanatics indeed) rejoyce in them, for these present Sufferings are not worthy to be compared with our future Glory, *Rom. viii. 18.*

Sir, I bless God I have an invincible Peace and a secret Joy surpassing my Expression; and I press towards the Mark, *Phil. iii. 14.* yet divine Cordials are not constant, but often some fainting Fits, and Dispondencies; the Spirit bloweth where it listeth; where it is not comforting, it is supporting, *Esay xl. 29. and xli. 10.* if I were not very feeble, how could God's Power appear in my Weakness? I bless his Name that his Arrows are not within me, nor do the Terrors of Death take hold upon me, as *Job vi. 4.* for I never was better as to the Frame and Temper of Mind and Body, than since my Restraint; and blessed be the Comforter I am not long without him. My Cousin *Harrison* is very full of spiritual Comfort (as the Gentleman Jailor tells me) and bids me

cheer up, and indeed it will be a Mercy, if those who are called forth to testify for Christ prove courageous, as *Jos. 1. 9.* but truly as for my Part, it does not lie on that Side; I fear, lest I may be too much exalted with the Honour of it, tho' I know the Lord can soon withdraw; we live by Faith, and not by Sight; our Happiness is in our Union, rather than in Communion and sensible Gusts; and I rather fear a lingering Death with Severity; some for Banishment, *Ezek. 7. 16. &c.* but let the Lord do with me as he pleaseth, as *Joab* said, *1 Chr. 19. 13. Omnia co-operantur in bonum, Rom. 8. 28.* So having unbosom'd my Heart unto you, that you and such whom you judge faithful and secret, may the better spread my Condition before the Lord, I would intreat you to beg for me more particularly; 1. That God would set home upon my Heart, and fulfil in me with Power your sweet Scripture (for which I heartily thank you) *2 Tim. 1. 7, 8, 9, 12.* that I may not be afraid of their Terrors, nor troubled, but may sanctify the Lord at that time, and be able to answer all Opposers, that they may be asham'd when we suffer for well-doing, *1 Pet. 3. 14. to 18.* 2. That I and the rest of our Brethren and Companions in Tribulation, and in the Kingdom and Patience of Jesus Christ, for the Word of God and his Testimony, may be strengthened with all Might, according to Christ's Glorious Power, unto all Patience and Long-suffering with Joyfulness, as *Paul* pray'd for the *Colossians, Col. 1. 9. to 14.* being fill'd with Knowledge, Wisdom, and spiritual Understanding, and feeling those Grounds of Joy as an Inheritance of Light, and Deliverance from the Power of Darkness, that we may be *Testes* and *Contestes*, to agree in our Testimonies, and not disparage so good a Cause. 3. That we may be ready not only to be bound,

bound, but to die for Christ, and the Vindication and Justification of his Evangelical Doctrine ; we have made high Profession and Confession of the everlasting Gospel, and it is a blessed Thing to believe with the Heart, and confess with our Mouths, and in our Lives, and by active Martyrdom, as *Brooke, Ireton, Hampden, Pickering*, and others, have worthily done, who are safely arrived, expecting us, and we are yet upon the Waves ; but the most excellent, honourable, rich and fruitful Confession of Christ, whereby we can make the most efficacious Demonstration of our Election and Faith in Christ, and Love in his glorious Person, with most supreme Illustration of God's Glory, is to lay down our Lives as the Martyrs did, to seal and confirm the Truth of our Professions with our Blood, for the Cause of Christ, and Safety of our Brethren, *Rom. 16. 4. 1 John 3. 16.* as our blessed Master, after he had confessed and preach'd the Glory of God, and our Salvation, confirm'd and approv'd all by Miracles, and his most holy Life made a good Confession under *Pontius Pilate*, *1 Tim. 6. 13.* without which all had been ineffectual : So I have often thought for the Discovery of Hypocrites, cementing of the Saints in more concording Affections, Trial of Faith, exercising of Patience, and Love to Christ, and for many other glorious Ends, God would call for some of his Childrens Blood, which will be the greater Favour to them whom he shall count worthy of it, because I think this will rather be a *Julian* than a *Neronian* Persecution, always provided that we be found in the Doctrine of the Covenant of Grace ; that God does not love us, because we live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present World, and are willing to forsake all, and lose our Lives for him.

But because he loves us, and has singled us out from the World, therefore he enables us so to live, and to do singular things for his Honour and Glory, and willingly to *follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth*, Rev. 14. 4. *For the Love of Christ constraineth us*, 2 Cor. 5. 14. O that we had more enlarged Hearts for our King Jesus! 4. (That you may fully hit my Condition) I have some Trouble upon me concerning the Loss of my temporal Estate, especially for my poor, tender loving Wife and Child: I was a Purchaser, and had a Stock of Cattle, and being wrongfully made Prisoner two Months before any Speech of a King, I was surpriz'd and could save nothing, nor get 20 *l.* of my Estate since *Michaelmas* last. They promised to bear my Charges to *London*; but at *Chester* I was forc'd to borrow Money, or must have come a-foot: Therefore pray be earnest with the Lord, that we may take the spoiling of our Goods more joyfully, knowing that we have in Heaven better and an enduring Substance, *Heb.* 10. 34. and that we may not faint at these momentary Afflictions, which work so well for us, (wherein Riches and Honours are not so) according to that Passage, 2 Cor. 4. the three last Verses, and be affected with eternal Joys. It is said that I shall be put down into the Hole for Non-payment of great Fees: My Comfort is, that God will be with me there, they cannot shut out God's Spirit from me, which is an everlasting Spring and Jubile, nor will that be so bad as *Jeremiah's* Dungeon, nor as *Joseph's* Irons, which enter'd into his Soul, tho' indeed we are sold by our Brethren as *Joseph* was, that the Scripture may be fulfill'd, *The Brother shall deliver up the Brother to Death*, *Matth.* 10. 21.

I know not how to conclude, not knowing when I may have another Opportunity to converse with you. I am overjoy'd to think they cannot reach

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my Soul, and that our Cause is invincible, and it will be a Happiness if God see it good that none might suffer Death, but such whose Souls are out of Danger; but being upon the Account of civil Liberties as well as spiritual, our only wise Father will order all for his own Glory, and this only silences all Murmurings, and Master save thyself, that what he pleases must needs be best for us; he being Infinite Wisdom, Love, Power and Goodness. Had the King made his Way by the Sword, we might expect his forest Strokes; but for the Men of *Keilah* to deliver us up for the Parliament to sacrifice us: These Men that sit by a Common-wealth Writ, for whose Privileges we adventur'd our All, and who cannot condemn us, but must give up the Cause, and give Judgment against themselves, and all the good People in the Nation; let the *Indians* judge of it, if any of the Elect think hardly of us, that we do not cry *peccavi*, and make our Recantation; it will not last long, and it is no matter what others say, for they must receive their Judgment at the Bar of Christ, and we shall judge our Judges; therefore let us not entertain Damps of Dispondencies. My Rejoycing is in a good God, a good Cause, a good Conscience; I have the Justice of Heaven on my Side, and God's Loving-kindness, which is better than Life; if we find Injustice and Cruelty here, Men's Law at *Westminster* will be adjudged Treason in Heaven, it will not be long before all Tears shall be wiped from our Eyes; and if our Innocencies be not vindicated and cleared up in this Life, as *Job's*, *Mordecai's*, *Joseph's*, and *Daniel's* and *Susanna's* were; yet at the Revelation of the righteous Judgment of God, it will appear before Men and Angels, that we are not Traitors, nor Murderers, nor Phanaticks; but true Christians, and good Commonwealths-

men, fixt and constant to the Principles of Sanctity, Truth, Justice, and Mercy, which the Parliament and Army declar'd and engag'd for ; and to that noble Principle of preferring the Universality, before a Particularity ; that we fought the publick Good, and would have enfranchis'd the People, and secured the Welfare of the whole groaning Creation, if the Nation had not more delighted in Servitude, than in Freedom. And if we now suffer a Martyrdom of Body, we shall be some of the Souls under the Altar, crying, *How long, O Lord ! holy and true ;* and tho' we can patiently digest their Tortures, and leave all Vengeance to whom it belongs, yet who knows but that our Blood may be their Poison ? but then after all unjust Sentences of Men, how sweet and honourable will the Judgment of Christ be, *Matth. 25.* (*Euge bone serve*) of entring into our Master's Joy, when the Kings of the Earth, and the chief Captains and Dukes of *Edom* shall with the Mountains and Rocks to fall upon them, *Rev. 5. 16.* I bless God my poor Wife does much encourage me to be faithful to the Death, and she is a Meet-helper indeed, who helps her Husband so to Heaven, as in a fiery Chariot ; she is one who bears an unfeigned Love to Christ and all the Saints ; I intreat your tender Care of her and my Child, *providebit Deus*, *Jer. 49. 11.* I shall leave her that Scripture, and *Esa. 54. 5. to 8.* while they cannot take away by Confiscation ; when we were in the Storm we took our leaves each of the other ; and tho' we have not paid our Vows at *Bethel*, yet I trust (as was then promised) we shall be willing to go to Christ, if he call thro' a Sea of Blood. But, O the infinite Wisdom and Love of God, and the unsearchable Riches of his Grace ! that if I had been drowned, the Malignants would have said, tho' he escaped by Land, yet
divine

divine Vengeance overtook him at Sea ; that now he should vouchsafe me (poor me, as *Gideon* said, *Judges* 6. 15. one of the meanest Lawyers in *Westminster-Hall*) the Honour of Bonds, and an effectual Martyrdom for being an Advocate for my blessed Advocate, and the good People of *England*.

I have been the larger, not knowing what Use this may be of, if my Mouth should be stop'd ; if you hear any Report of me contrary hereunto, believe it not, so you have my Heart ; and I had rather be buried alive, than my Tongue or Hand should differ from it. O pray much for me, and pray again and mend your Prayers, as I have great need to do, if you know what pitiful, poor, short and confused Prayers I make in a Day ; yet Father into thy Hands I commend my Spirit is a Prayer, no Period better than Prayer ; therefore now unto him that is able to keep you (and me) from falling, and to present you (and me) faultless, before the Presence of his Glory, with exceeding Joy : To the only wise God, our Saviour, be Glory and Majesty, Dominion and Power, now and for ever, *Amen*.

Yours for ever in our Dear Redeemer,

JOHN COOKE.

*The Execution of THOMAS SCOT, the Regicide,
the 17th Day of October, 1660.*

THE Night before Execution, when he was in the Dungeon, he was (as he had been that Day) somewhat sadder than at other times; and one ask'd him, if any particular Thing lay on him? He said, No; but the Lord was pleased to suspend his comforting Presence: But, said he (with an humble Boldness I would speak it) The Lord shall not put me off with any thing besides himself. After having spent some Hours in Prayer, as at other Times, about Midnight we left him, and his Fellows, that they might get a little Rest, for the Support of their natural Spirits; and in three or four Hours his Wife, Children, and many other Friends return'd. When we came, we found them praying: As soon as Colonel Scroop had ended, Mr. Scot turned about, and opening his Arms, he imbraced his Wife, and one of his Daughters: Ah, said he, my dear ones, *God is good, he is come, he is come! I am full, I am full. O bless the Lord for me, and with me! O my Soul, and all that is within me, magnify the Lord!* By and by he went to Prayer himself; and one would have thought he had been (as it were) in Heaven, his Soul was so enlarged in blessing, praising and magnifying the God of his Salvation. O! said he to his Wife, *I would not change this dark Room for the best Star-Chamber under Heaven.* He desir'd his Friends and Relations would not be solicitous for his Body; but let them do what they pleased, and exercise what Cruelty they would; saying, it was meet it should be so: And that the dead Bodies of the Witnesses must be unburied, that the Scriptures might be fulfill'd.

Some Part of his Prayer was, to bless the Lord, that (as the Psalmist said) tho' he came in there weeping, and fearing that he had not yet been bearing precious Seed, yet now they were returning rejoicing and triumphing, and carrying their Sheaves with them. Call us not (said he) *Marahs* (as she once said) but call us *Naomies*; for we came in hither (some of us) *empty*, but we are going out *full*: The Lord hath not writ *bitter* things, but *good* of us; for this is glorious Grace, *That we are counted worthy to suffer for GOD and his CAUSE.* Oh! What shall we render to the Lord? We will *take the Cup of Salvation, and call upon the Name of the Lord.* Oh our Souls, bless the Lord! and we do with our Souls bless thee, that we have an Eternity to bless thee in; for no less will satisfy our Souls. And now, O blessed and glorious God! shall we be among thy Worthies? If possible, let us attain to the first three; but if we attain not to so glorious a Testimony as that, yet, O Lord! let us be among thy Worthies. We desire to glorify thy great and blessed Name, that thou hast in any Measure enabled us to encourage our Hearts in the Lord our God, at such a time as this, when eighty are (as it were) in the Flames; and the People speak of worse than stoning us. When some spake of the Reproaches of the People, he said, he accounted that his Honour.

Mr. SCOT'S Speech upon the Ladder.

Gentlemen, I stand here a Spectacle to GOD, to Angels, and Men: To GOD and Angels, to whom I hope I am shortly a going. And now to you I owe it; to God, and the Nation, and myself, to say something concerning each. For myself, I think it may become me to tell you how,
and

and why I came hither ; and something in the general, concerning my Capacity. In the Beginning of these Troubles I was (as many others were) unsatisfy'd. I saw Liberties and Religion in the Nation in great Danger, to my best Apprehension ; I saw the Approaches of Popery in a great Measure coming in upon us : I saw----

Upon which the *Sheriff* interrupted him in these Words : *If you will betake yourself to Prayer, you may.*

Mr. Scot replied, *I shall not speak to reproach any----*

The *Sheriff* interrupted him again, saying, *You have but a little Time, Mr. Scot, therefore betake that little Time to Prayer.*

Mr. Scot replied, *I shall speak-----*

The *Sheriff* interrupted him again, saying, *I beseech you, Sir, betake yourself to Prayer.*

Mr. Scot said, *it may become me to give an Account of myself, because-----*

The *Sheriff* interrupted him again, saying, *It doth not become you to speak any such thing here, therefore I beseech you betake yourself to Prayer ; it is but a little time you have to live : You know, Mr. Scot, that is the most needful thing.*

Mr. Scot replied, *'Tis so-----*

The *Sheriff* interrupted again, saying, *Sir, But when you came upon the Stage, you depriv'd yourself very much.*

Then said Mr. Scot, *I thought to tell you how I came hither-----*

Here the *Sheriff* interrupted again, (or else some one beside the *Sheriff*) and spake to this Effect. *Every Body knows, that-----*

Mr. Scot said, *Sir, 'Tis hard that an Englishman hath not Liberty to speak----*

The *Sheriff* interrupted again, saying, *I cannot suffer you to speak any such thing.*

Mr. Scot

Mr. Scot said, *I shall say no more but this, That it is a very mean and bad Cause that will not bear the Words of a dying Man; it is not ordinarily denied to People in this Condition-----*

The Sheriff interrupted again, saying, Sir, *You had a fair Tryal, and you were found guilty.*

Mr. Scot replied, *'Tis according to my Mind to speak what may be said-----*

Here the Under-Sheriff interrupted, saying, *It hath been denied unto your Predecessors, and will be denied unto you.*

Then he pray'd; wherein he has this Expression, *I say again, to the Praise of the free Grace of God, I bless his Name, he hath engaged me in a Cause not to be repented of. I say, in a Cause not to be repented of.*

His Prayer being ended, he was turn'd off.

HUGH PETERS's Execution, the 17th of October, 1660, as related by a Friend of his.

MR. Peters, as is well known, was exercised under a great Conflict in his own Spirit, during the time of his Imprisonment, fearing (as he would often say) that he should not go thro' his Sufferings with Courage and Comfort, and said to Friends, that he was somewhat unprepar'd for Death, and therefore unwilling to die; something he said he had committed, and other things omitted, which troubled him; but tho' it was a cloudy and dark Day with him for a Season; yet the Light of God's Grace and Favour would break forth at last.

And surely the Favour of God did at the last appear, for a little before he went forth to Execution (as many can testify) he was well composed in his Spirit, and chearfully said, I thank God
now

now I can die, I can look Death in the Face and not be afraid.

As for that slanderous Report which was took, much receiv'd by good People as well as bad, to wit, that he was guilty of Uncleaness; a Friend coming to him in Prison, put that Question seriously and soberly to his Soul. To which he reply'd, That he blessed the Lord he was wholly clear in that Matter, and that he never knew any Woman but his own Wife.

A Night or two before he suffer'd, two of the Episcopal Clergy, who, as some report, were the King's Chaplains, came to give him a Visit; they endeavour'd to make Advantage of the Temptations wherewith he was then assaulted, and to persuade him to a Repentance and Recantation of his former Activity in the Parliament Cause, which they endeavour'd to enforce upon him by a Promise of Pardon from the King, in case he would herein hearken to them. But tho' he was then much afflicted in his Spirit, yet the Lord did help him to bear up with much Courage against the Insinuations of that sort of Men, and told them he had no Cause in the least to repent of his adhering to that Interest; but rather, that he had in the Prosecution thereof done no more for God and his People in these Nations; and with Civility dismissing those Visitants, he applied himself to some other Ministers then present, whom he judged more able to speak a Word in Season to him under these great Trials, wherewith the Lord was then pleas'd to exercise him.

Being carried upon the Sledge to Execution, and made to sit therein within the Rails at *Charing-cross*, to behold the Execution of Mr. Cooke, one came to him, and upbraided him with the Death of the King, bidding him (with opprobrious Language) to repent: He reply'd, Friend,
you

you do not well to trample upon a dying Man; you are greatly mistaken, I had nothing to do in the Death of the King.

When Mr. Cooke was cut down, and brought to be quarter'd, one they call'd Colonel *Turner*, call'd to the Sheriff's Men to bring Mr. *Peters* near, that he might see it, and by and by the Hangman came to him, all besmear'd in Blood, and rubbing his bloody Hands together, he tauntingly ask'd, Come, how do you like this Mr. *Peters*, how do you like this Work? To whom he reply'd, I am not (I thank God) terrified at it, you may do your worst.

When he was going to his Execution, he look'd about and espy'd a Man, to whom he gave a Piece of Gold (having bow'd it first) and desir'd him to go to the Place where his Daughter lodg'd, and to carry that to her as a Token from him, and to let her know *that his Heart was as full of Comfort as it could be; and that before that Piece should come to her Hands, he should be with God in Glory.*

Being upon the Ladder, he spake to the Sheriff, saying, *Sir, you have here slain one of the Servants of God before mine Eyes, and have made me to behold it, on purpose to terrify and discourage me, but God hath made it an Ordinance to me for my strengthening and Encouragement.*

When he was going to die, he said, *What, Flesh, art thou unwilling to go to God thro' the Fire and Jaws of Death? Oh (said he) this is a good Day, he is come that I have long look'd for, and I shall be with him in Glory, and so smiled when he went away.*

What Mr. *Peters* said further at his Execution, either in his Speech or Prayer, it could not be taken, in regard his Voice was low at that time, and the People uncivil.

The Execution of GREGORY CLEMENTS, the Regicide, the 17th of October, 1660, as related by a Friend of his.

MR. *Clements* was very silent both in the time of his Imprisonment at *Newgate*, and at the Time and Place of his Execution at *Charing-Cross*, only this it is said, that he express'd his Trouble (to some Friends in the Prison) for yielding so far to the Importunity of his Relations, as to plead guilty to the Indictment: And tho' he spoke little at the Place of Execution, yet (so far as could be judged by some discerning Persons that were near him) he departed this Life in Peace.

The Execution of Colonel JOHN JONES, the Regicide, the 17th of October, 1660.

SPeaking of the Sledge in which he was to be carried to Execution; it is (said he) like *Elijah's* fiery Chariot, only it goes thro' *Fleet-street*. The Time of his Departure being come, this aged Gentleman was drawn in one Sledge, with his aged Companion Colonel *Scroop*, whose grave and graceful Countenances, accompanied with Courage and Chearfulness, caused great Admiration and Compassion in the Spectators, as they passed along the Streets to *Charing-Cross*, the Place of their Execution: And after the Executioner had done his Part upon three others that Day, he was so drunk with Blood, that like one surfeited, he grew sick at Stomach; and not being able himself, he set his Boy to finish the Tragedy upon Colonel *Jones*; who coming up the Ladder with the like Chearfulness as his Brethren did before him,

him, and being placed fit for Execution, he proceeded to speak as followeth :

Colonel JOHN JONES's Speech upon the Ladder.

There are two things that are necessary now I am going thro' this narrow Gate or Passage to the eternal Majesty ; I say, two things are necessary as to the occasion of my coming hither to receive my Father's good Pleasure.

First, *Peace with God.* Secondly, *Peace with Man.*

I shall speak something to each of these ; and in the first Place, speak something of the Court wherein I receiv'd the Sentence : It hath been reported, as I was told, that I confess'd this Fact, and confess'd that I was guilty of Murder, as under those several Expressions that are in the Indictment, *viz.* -----

I desire to clear myself before the Lord, and before the World, in that Particular ; for should I grant that I was guilty in Reality and Truth of Murder and Malice, *viz.* -----

I should bely my own Conscience, and draw upon me a greater weight than I could bear. But thus far I do confess, I was willing to make the Work as short as I could ; and because I would not stand so long, I told them I would take the first Jury that came ; and when a Jury was call'd, then I did confess so much as I was convinc'd of, as to the Matter of Fact ; I desire you will judge charitably of this that I speak at this time, as in the Presence of the Lord, that it is not so really, (*viz.* that I acknowledg'd myself guilty of Murder) I had no such thing in my Heart.

I must confess I very freely quit his Majesty, considering what he doth in this Case is the Part of a loving Son to a Father, especially the Judges
telling

telling him that it is the Law ; and I conceive that the Court did nothing but what they, to their best Understandings, judged right as to Law ; therefore I freely acquit the Court, tho' there was not enough said to satisfy such a poor Creature as I am, in so great and deep a Point as that was : As for all others, I do not know any Man on the Earth, to whom I do bear any Malice, but I am in perfect Charity with all Men, and I hope the Lord is in Charity with me : And therefore, as I desire to have Forgiveness myself from all those I have offended, even so I do freely forgive all those that have in any Measure offended me.

The next thing is towards God, and it is that which should be last upon my Heart : It is not expected that I should give an Account here of my State and Condition, for that is betwixt God and my own Soul ; and I do, thro' the Grace and Goodness of God, firmly believe that my Redemption is wrought, and my Pardon is sealed, and that I shall be immediately in my Father's Arms, and that I shall be translated and brought to behold the Lord Jesus Christ in Glory, with Comfort and Fulness of Joy.

Then he betook himself to his Prayers.

His Prayers being ended, he said, Mr. Sheriff, I must needs return you many Thanks for your Civility.

Sher. Repl. I am glad to hear such an ingenuous Confession, and that you make such an End, and that you have not gone into any reviling Language, as some others have done before.

After this he committed his Soul to God, and was turn'd off.

The Execution of Colonel DANIEL AXTEL, and Colonel FRANCIS HACKER, Regicides, the 19th Day of October, 1660, as related by a Friend of theirs.

THE Day of their Execution being come, several godly Ministers spent some time in Prayer with Colonel *Axtel* and Colonel *Hacker*; and many Friends coming in to pay their last Respects, Colonel *Axtel* seeing one of his familiar Friends and Companions, said, My dear Brother, thou art better than I am, and yet I must go to Heaven before thee for all that.

He very chearfully said to divers then with him, dear Friends, rejoice, I am going where ye shall be also, yea, where we shall be for ever with the Lord, and never part, and be without any more Change; I beseech you follow the Lamb wherever he goeth, tho' he may lead you in a harsh, dismal and difficult Way; yet at last he will bring you into a pleasant Path, and cause you to lie down in green Pastures, in the Land of Rest; *Oh be faithful unto the Death, and he will give you a Crown of Life*, as he hath given to your suffering Brethren.

Oh! all that we have, or do suffer, is but to make Christ and Heaven more sweet, dear and glorious to us; all the sad Steps we shall tread on this Ladder, is but to mount us to Heaven, for at the Top are Angels ready to receive us, as was on *Jacob's Ladder*. All the things I meet with move me not, I bless my God, for I am sure to fight a good Fight, and finish my Course with Joy.

Afterwards taking his leave of his Son, embracing him in his Arms, he said, My dear Son, fare thee well, I must leave thee, get an Interest

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in Christ, and love him, nothing else will stand thee in stead but an Interest in him.

Then calling for his Bible, he hug'd it, saying, this hath the whole Cause in it, and I may carry this without Offence. And calling to a Friend, he desir'd him to remember his Love to the Congregation where he was a Member, and after took his leave of all his Friends, exhorting them with much Chearfulness to love the Lord Jesus Christ, and keep close to him, and so with great Joy address'd himself to go to his next Work.

Colonel *Françis Hacker* was a Man of few Words, and had not the Gift of Oratory to deliver himself as others could, yet was very sweetly borne up under his Suffering, and had a very comfortable Assurance that God had pardon'd and accepted him in the Blood of Christ; he had been a Professor of Religion many Years in the Presbyterian Way, and a great Lover of godly Ministers; a Man of just and honest Conversation amongst Men, and one that desir'd to walk blameless in the Sight of God; his Fellow-Prisoner did say, he did believe that Colonel *Hacker* had an Interest in Jesus Christ.

Colonel *Hacker* declar'd to several of his own Friends, a little before he suffer'd, that the greatest Trouble he had upon his Spirit was, *That he had formerly borne too great a Prejudice in his Heart towards the good People of God that differ'd from him in Judgment.* And then broke forth into this Admiration. *O what am I, poor vile Worm, that God should count me worthy to suffer with such precious Souls as these are, against whom I have been formerly so much prejudiced!*

And thus these two gracious Persons having finish'd their Course, and the Time of their Departure being at hand, were both brought forth of Prison.

Prison. The Sledge being ready for them, they took their Leave of some Friends that stood at the Door, and Colonel *Axtel* desir'd them to be at the Place of Execution ; and both entring the Sledge, they cast up their Eyes towards that God to whom they were coming ; then with a chearful Countenance, setting themselves down, they were drawn to *Tyburne*, the Place of Execution, where a Cart was set ready, into which they both ascended, their Countenance not at all chang'd, tho' now the King of Terrors stared them in the Face ; the Ropes being then put about their Necks, and a burning Fire kindled before their Faces ; and being there ready to receive that Sentence which Nature would have sunk under, if Grace had not supported. First Colonel *Axtel* applies himself to the Sheriff in these following Words :

Colonel AXTEL's Speech at Tyburne, Oct. 19. 1660.

Mr. *Sheriff*, I am now, as you see, come to the Place of Execution, according to my Sentence, I desire your Leave that I may speak freely, and without Interruption ; first to this People, and then to God, for it is the last that I shall speak in this World, and I hope it will redound to your Account.

Mr. *Sheriff's Reply*. - Sir, you know what the Court prohibited you to speak, and what was spoken at the Bar of the Court was there decided, therefore it is needless to repeat it here. I hope you will keep to the present Business that concerns you, and not go out into Impertinencies ; and because you have but a little Time, spend it to your best Advantage, and the Good of the People, and then you shall not be interrupted ; or to the same effect.

Colonel *Axtel* begins. I say, the very Cause for which I have engaged is contain'd in this Book of God, (*having the Bible in his Hand*) both in the civil and religious Rights of it, which I leave to you (*giving the Book to Mr. Knowles.*)

You see a dead Man living, and yet I hope I shall live to all Eternity, thro' the Mediation of Jesus Christ, the Mediator of the Covenant of free Grace.

I must truly tell you, that before these late Wars, it pleas'd the Lord to call me by his Grace, thro' the Work of the Ministry; and afterwards keeping a Day of Humiliation in Fasting and Prayer, with Mr. *Simeon Ash*, Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Woodcocke*, and other Ministers, in *Laurence-lane*, they did so clearly state the Cause of the Parliament, that I was fully convinc'd in my own Conscience of the Justness of the War, and thereupon engaged in the Parliament-Service (which as I did and do believe) was the Cause of the Lord, I ventur'd my Life freely for it, and now die for it.

Then Mr. *Sheriff* said to this purpose, Sir, remember your self.

Colonel *Axtel* proceeds: And after the Work of the Lord was done in *England*, my Lot cast me in the Service of *Ireland*, and I thank the Lord I was serviceable to the *English* Nation in that Country, and have discharg'd my Duty fully, according to the Trust committed to me there.

As for the Fact for which I now suffer, it is for Words, only for Words, and but for Words, and the Sentence is already reversed in my own Conscience, and it will be reversed by Jesus Christ by and by; I pray God, from the very Bottom of my Soul, to forgive all that have had any Hand in my Death, both Witnesses and Jury, and the Court that pass'd Sentence; for considering the Doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, as he hath laid
it

it down, *Mat. 5. 44. It hath been said of old time, love your Neighbours, and hate your Enemies ; but I say unto you, love your Enemies, and pray for them that hate and despitefully use you, that you may be the Children of your Father which is in Heaven.*

I desire, according to this Doctrine, from the Bottom of my Heart, that God would give them true Repentance, and not lay their Sin to their Charge, nor my Blood, which by God's Law and Man's (I think) could not justly have been brought here to suffer : But I bless God I have some comfortable Assurance that I shall be imbraced in the Arms of Christ, and have Cause to hope that his Spirit shall carry my Soul into the Father's Hands.

And if the Glory of this Sunshine be so great (the Sun then shining bright) how much more is the Glory of the Son of God, who is the Son of Righteousness?

I think it convenient to give you some Account of my Faith.

I believe all things written in the Old and New Testament, as the Principles and Doctrine of a Believer's Faith ; I believe the blessed Ordinances of Christ, that it is our Duty to hear the Word preach'd, to seek unto God in Prayer, and to perform Family Duties, and to walk in the Communion of Saints ; and for my own Part, I am a Member of a Congregation, which I judge to be the Way of Christ, (and were it for that only I were to die, I could witness to it) which is a Company of Men born again by his Grace, that walk in the Ways of Christ blameless and harmless. I believe Jesus Christ died for poor Sinners, of whom I am Chief, as the Apostle *Paul* saith, *This is a faithful Saying, and worthy of all Acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the World to save Sinners, of whom I am Chief.* And if the Apostle might say so, much more may I.

My Friends and Countrymen, I have reason to bewail my own unprofitable Life, having been very unfruitful unto the People of the Lord, the Lord knows I have much Fault upon my Heart ; were it not for the Blood of Christ that cleanseth and washeth me, according to his Promise, saying, *I loved you, and washed away your Sins in my own Blood.* For there is no Remission of Sins without the Blood of Christ. I desire you all to loath and cast off Sin, it were better to suffer than to sin, it is better to die than to sin ; nothing could grieve our Saviour but Sin, and therefore have a care of that : You and I must meet one Day at the Bar of Christ, and the Son of God shall be our Judge, for God hath committed all Judgment to the Son, *that all Men should honour the Son as they honour the Father.* This Day is a Resemblance of that Day, therefore be serious ; I beg as much Good to your immortal Souls as I expect to enjoy by and by. I beseech you beg of God that he would save your Souls, and omit no Opportunity thro' the Strength of the Lord to believe, and put your Trust in the Lord Jesus Christ ; be sure to labour after Assurance of your Interest in him, or else you will be of all Men most miserable ; for I of all Men were most miserable, if I had not believed to see the Goodness of the Lord in the Land of the Living.

Blessed be the Lord that brings me into this State, let the Way or Means be what it will ; it is God's Sovereignty, who made these Creatures so, to dispose of them how he pleaseth, and God hath ordained this Death for me from all Eternity. The Lord Christ often pray'd, *Thy Will be done ;* this is the Lord's Will. He hath numbred my Days, and my Times are in his Hand. Many seek the Rulers Favour, but every one's Judgment is from the Lord. When *Pilate* said unto Christ,

Christ, *Knowest thou not that I have Power to crucify thee ?* Christ answer'd him, *Thou couldest have no Power against me, except it were given thee from above. Therefore I acknowledge the righteous Hand of God ; he is righteous, but I am sinful ; Therefore will I bear God's Indignation, because I have sinned against him.*

It is said of Jesus Christ, *That for the Joy set before him he endured the Cross, and despised the Shame, and is set down at the right Hand of God,* where I hope to see him by and by in Glory and Majesty, and to see his Angels and Believers worshipping of him, and therefore I despise the Shame. Our Saviour died upon the Cross without Sin, I am a sinful Creature, a wretched Sinner, and shall I expect better than he that was my Master ? He who was holy, and never had a sinful Thought in all his Life ; and died not for himself, but for us, that we might live thro' his Death ; that thro' his Poverty we might be made Rich. And Christ having done this for his People, it should not be in their Eyes thought a despicable Thing that we should suffer for him, having been engaged in the Work of God. But Christ must prevail in Righteousness, and he will prevail.

Now, Mr. *Sheriff*, I thank you for your Civility, and for this Leave.

After this Colonel *Hacker* spoke something privately to him, whereupon Colonel *Axtel* said, Mr. *Sheriff*, must we both die together ?

Mr. *Sheriff* answer'd, Yes.

Then Colonel *Hacker* read a Paper which he had in his Hand, a Copy whereof followeth :

F*riends and Country-men, all that have known me in my best Estate, have not known me to have been a Man of Oratory, and that God hath not given me the Gift of Utterance, as to others, therefore I have only this*

briefly to say unto you that are Spectators : As the Parliament stated the War, I did out of Judgment and Conscience join with them in the common Cause, and have thro' Grace been faithful to it according to my Measure. And as for that which now I am condemned for, I do freely forgive both Judges, Jury, and Witnesses, and all others ; and I thank the Lord, to whom I am now going, at whose Tribunal I must render an Account, I have nothing lies upon my Conscience as Guilt whereof I am now condemned, and do not doubt but to have the Sentence reverst. I do now apply myself unto God by Prayer, and do desire the hearty Prayers of all that fear God, that I may have a sweet Passage from this mortal Life to that immortal Life, which God hath prepar'd for all that are in Christ Jesus.

FRANCIS HACKER.

After the reading of this, he desir'd that Colonel *Axtel* would be both their Mouths to God in Prayer.

And then Colonel *Axtel* said, I desire all that fear the Lord to hear with Patience, and to lift up their Hearts to seek the Lord with me, that we may have his Strength, and the Presence of his Spirit from this World to everlasting Life.

After he had ended his Prayer, he gave the *Sheriff* Thanks again for his Civility ; and then turning to Colonel *Hacker*, they saluted and embraced each other in their Arms, and said, The Lord sweeten our Passage, and give us a happy Meeting with himself in Glory.

Then pulling his Cap over his Eyes, expecting, as is suppos'd, that the Cart should be drawn away ; with his Hands lifted up, he utter'd these Words with a loud and audible Voice, Lord Jesus receive my Spirit : But the Cart staying a little longer, he lift up his Hands the second Time,
and

and with the like audible and loud Voice, said, Into thy Hands, O Father! I commend my Spirit: And yet in regard there was no Man found to put forward the Horse to draw away the Cart, until the common Hang-man came down out of the Cart himself to do it; the Carman, as many Witnesses affirm, saying, he would lose his Cart and Horse before he would have a Hand in hanging such a Man; by this Means he had Opportunity to lift up his Hands, and utter the like Words the third Time also.

One thing more is very remarkable, that when Colonel *Axtel* and Colonel *Hacker* were taken out of the Sledge into the Cart, the Spectators being in great Numbers there, behaved themselves very civilly, only two Persons among them, as soon as the Ropes were put about their Necks, cried out very earnestly, Hang them, hang them, Rogues, Traitors, Murderers; Hang-man, draw away the Cart: Whereupon a Man that stood by them, desir'd them to be civil, and said, Gentlemen, this is not civil, for the Sheriff knoweth what he hath to do; and thereupon they were silent, and gave Attention to Colonel *Axtel's* Speech and Prayer; but before he had done, those very Persons were so affected, that they could not refrain from pouring out many Tears upon the Place, and went aside to a Place a little more retir'd to weep; and that Man that before desir'd them to be civil, went after them and beheld them, to his great Admiration, as himself hath narrated.

The Execution of Col. ADRIAN SCROOP, the Regicide, Octob. 17. 1660. as related by a Friend of his.

WHEN the Time approach'd for his Execution, Mr. *Scot* and Mr. *Clement* were first carried away in the Sleds, and the same Sleds were afterwards to come and carry Col. *Scroop* and Col. *Jones*; during that time, says Col. *Scroop*, Well Brother *Jones*, do you spend your Time as the Lord shall direct you, I intend to take a little Sleep, for I slept not well last Night; and my Countenance is not so fresh as I would have it. Thereupon he laid him down, and slept so soundly, that he snored very loud, and so continued untill the Sled came for him: Whereupon, being awaken'd, he riseth up; and a Friend taking him in his Arms, ask'd him how he did? He answers, Very well, I thank God, never better in all my Life.

And now, saith he, *will I wash mine Hands in Innocency; so will I compass thine Altar, O Lord: And so with great Chearfulness went to Execution.*

Col. *Adrian Scroop*, and Col. *John Jones*, (two comely ancient Gentlemen) were both drawn upon that Sled which carried Mr. *Scot*; and being come to *Charing-Cross*, the Place of Execution, Col. *Scroop* was first brought up to the Ladder, where he spake as followeth.

Col. SCROOP'S SPEECH at Execution.

You see an Object here, that hath been in a better Place; but howsoever the Lord Jesus Christ hath sent me to this Place, that in this Place I should die. I have no Animosity nor Malice against any Man, nor ever had I; neither have I
any

any evil Will to those that brought me hither, nor to the Jury that found me guilty, nor Judges that passed Sentence ; nor to him through whose means I was brought here to suffer. I say, once more, the Lord forgive him, I shall not name him ; for I come not hither to reflect upon any Man's Person.

I will not tell you what my Breeding hath been, because it is not good for any Man (especially at such a time as this) to boast of his Lineage nor Breeding ; but this I shall say, that I was born and bred a Gentleman.

As for my Carriage, it may be some that look upon me here, know what it hath been : Howsoever the Lord knows all, and the Lord God is Judge of all, and he will judge ; I shall submit my self to his Judgment, which is a righteous Judgment. The Judgment of Men may go wrong, but God's Judgment is right, I shall submit to his Way. The Lord he is the *Rock of Ages*, and my Support under this great Weight that is now upon me : I look up to him alone, the Lord Jesus Christ is my Saviour and my Redeemer ; I am going into his Arms, blessed be his Name, I follow him, he is gone before me the same way ; Therefore it is no Reproach or Shame to follow the Lord Jesus Christ, to die in his Cause ; for that is it which I judge I am now going to do.

That which I do desire of you (here are a great many Spectators both on the Right Hand and on the Left) is, That this Day may represent to you the general Day of the Judgment of Christ, where you must appear, and there every Man must receive according to their Works : And at that time it will be known ; I say, at that time it will be known and seen, whose Works are righteous, and whose are not : Therefore I would wish you, and desire you, to judge charitably of me.

His Speech being ended, he went to Prayers, after which he was turn'd off. The

*The Execution of JOHN JAMES, Nov. 26. 1661.
as related by his Friends.*

A Little before his going forth, seeing some of his Friends come in who had particularly desired to accompany him to the Place of Execution, said, *Here comes my Bride-Men*, embracing them with much Joy. But, said he, *Must not the Sacrifice be bound?* One answer'd, *Yea, it must be bound with Cords*: He rejoycing, said, so he had heard.

Soon after the Keeper came into the Room, and calling him down to deliver him to the Sheriff, he told him he was a welcome Messenger, he had waited long for him; and so he came with Joy after the Keeper, from his Chamber into the Press-yard, where hearing the Noise of the Multitude without, said to a Friend, *There would be by-and-by as many Hallelujahs, as Shoutings of the People without*; and there they bound him about the Back with a new Cord, and so had him into the Street like a Sheep to the Slaughter; with a sweet smiling Countenance he came into the Street, where he was a Gazing-stock unto the Multitude, and so being placed upon the Sled, drawn by a Team of Horses, attended by the Sheriffs Men, and a Company of Foot-soldiers, was drawn along to Tyburn; the Way out of the Town being very foul, he was drawn thro' very much Water and Dirt, besides the very much flapping of the Horses that went besides him, yet for all this he was borne up with much Joy and Chearfulness, not at all dismayed or terrified.

Being come to the Place of Execution, he ask'd Mr. Sterling the Sheriff, whether he might not have liberty to speak to the People? He told him he might, if he would not speak seditiously, (or
Words

Words to that purpose.) Then *John James* addressed himself to speak as followeth :

The last SPEECH of JOHN JAMES, at Tyburn!

First of all, that which I have to say before I go out of this World, is, to remove that which hath been thrown upon me by way of Aspersions, as if I were a Jesuite. * Here at this Place, at this Time, are some that knew me from my Childhood, and can clear me in this Particular; and therefore I shall only say this to it, That I am an English-man, never was out of the Nation in all my Life; never had any Knowledge of any other Tongue but the English Tongue, therefore altogether incapable of such Work and Employment as Jesuites are usually put upon, they being commonly Men of great Parts and Learning, which I am not. I shall only speak this in respect of my Parentage and Education; I came of a very mean Family; I may truly say, as once *Gideon* did, *My Family is the least in all Manasseh, and I am the least in the Family*: And in truth I may justly say, my Family, the Family that I came of, it was a very mean Family, the meanest among all the Families of the People of the Lord at that Day, as I knew of; and for my Parents, they were People fearing God, those that durst not for their Lives, I say, they were those that durst not for their Lives stain their Consciences in respect of Idolatry and Superstition that was up at that day.

I shall not need to speak any more to that, I came not here to boast of my Parentage; I declare

* *This Vindication was occasion'd by the coming of a Courtier, (and, as some said, one of the Bed-chamber) two or three Nights before he suffer'd, to know if he was not a Jesuite, and if he had not been beyond the Seas.*

clare I came of a mean Family, only my Parents were People fearing God, and did, to their utmost, endeavour what they could to bring me up in the Nurture and Admonition of the Lord; and I hope my Father at his Death had not ought to be charged with by way of Blame: And my Mother is yet alive, and attained to a good old Age, and I trust so she is. But I shall not trouble you more about this Matter; for I only speak this, to take off that which was cast upon me, wherein I judged the Name of God would have suffer'd, had I not cleared myself.

The second thing that I shall say, is, what I am in my Principles, what I am in respect of my Religion and Judgment, and I shall be brief as to that. I do own the Title of a *Baptized Believer*, I do own the *Ordinances* and *Appointments* of Jesus Christ, I do own all the Principles in *Heb. 6. 1, 2.* about the *Doctrine of Faith towards God*, and *Repentance from dead Works*, the *Doctrine of Baptisms* and *laying on of Hands*, the *Resurrection of the Dead*, and *eternal Judgment*. These are the Principles that I desire to own, and have in some weak measure been found walking in: I do not only own the Principles and Doctrines, declared in the sixth of the *Hebrews*, but I do own the Commandments of God, the *Ten Commandments*, as they are expressed in the 20th of *Exodus*. I do here, as before the Lord, testify, I durst not, I durst not willingly break the least of those Commandments to save my Life; I do declare that the rather, because I would inform Persons that I do own the Lord's holy Sabbath, the *seventh Day* of the Week to be the *Lord's Sabbath*; you know the Commandment, *Remember that thou keep holy the Seventh Day*. I shall forbear to speak any more to that.

Again, further, in respect of my Principle (as that for which I judge I am here this day to suffer)

fer) That I do own the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, (to wit) the *visible Kingdom of Jesus Christ here on Earth*, and I do desire to declare it humbly and in the Fear of the Lord, *That JESUS CHRIST the Son of God is King of all the Nations in the World*, according to that in *Rev. 11. 15.* upon the sounding of the seventh Trumpet there was a great Voice in Heaven, *The Kingdoms of this World are become the Kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and He shall reign for ever and ever.* There needs no more to be said, tho' many more Scriptures might be brought to prove that it is so. It cannot be a spiritual Kingdom, the Text cannot be allegorical; for the Text saith expressly, *The Kingdoms of This World, &c.* I shall endeavour not to tire you with many Words; I do not come here (the Lord knows) to sow Sedition, I have it not upon my Heart, it hath not been my Practice, tho' this be the pretended Cause of bringing me hither; but the Lord knows, before whom I stand, and with whom I shall shortly be, that whatever I am accused of, as to Matter of *Fact*, I am free from it; I desire you may hear it, and take notice of it, the Things charged upon me are notoriously false, I speak it as my last Words, the Lord that knows all Hearts, and one Day will call all Men to an Account, knows I speak true, both in respect of the Manner of the thing charg'd upon me, and in respect of the Matter, notwithstanding that several Witnesses took the Boldness to swear it in Court. I do in the fear of the Lord also tell you, that I bless the Lord I have not the least hard Thought of them that swore against me, I have not the least hard Thought upon that account, nor the least rising of Spirit against either Judge, Jury, or Witnesses, or any other, the Lord knows it, but have sought their Pardon upon my bended Knees, and I hope further shall do it, if
 God

God permit. I have one Word to say to the People of God, and that is this; I would entreat you not to think ever the worse of the Ways of God, because you see such a poor Worm as I brought hither to suffer upon that Account, let not the assembling of your selves together be any way a burden to you; know that Word, *For sake not the assembling of your selves together, as the manner of some is, but be instructing one another so much the more as you see the Day approaching*, Heb. 10. 25. and let not any of the Ways of God, any of the Ordinances of God, any of the Commandments of God be ever the worse in your Eyes, because a poor Worm that has professed them, and has in some poor measure tasted in them of the Love of God, is brought hither, do not think the Words and Commandments of God are the worse for that; and I would entreat you that you would stick close to them, whatever Dispensation may be at the Door, which no Man here knows one or other: But I say, whatever the Ways and Dispensations of God may be, tho' you may expect to suffer more and more, yet know that was the Way that our Lord did go, the Captain of our Salvation was made perfect through Sufferings; and the Apostles and holy Christians of old counted it great Joy, they accounted it great Joy to be filling up the Measure of Christ's Sufferings that are behind. And now, my dear Friends, for Jesus Christ's sake, be exhorted in the Fear of God, not only to stick to those Ordinances and Commandments of God, wherein you are enlightened, but take that good Word of God, in 1 Chron. 28. 8. it was *David's* Advice to *Solomon*, the Words are, *Solomon my Son, keep and seek for all, &c.* do not content your selves with what you do already know, but endeavour, in the Fear of the Lord, to be seeking after more. I would further charge every
 one

one of the People of the Lord, to have a care of defiling themselves with any Idolatry, with any Superstition, by treading in By-paths that may not suit the Mind of God, however it may be accepted in the Land.

I shall not trouble you with much more, only a Word to those that have not yet an Interest in Jesus Christ, that cannot call God *Father*, I beseech such to consider, it may be that God hath a mind, by the Words of a dying Man, to do their Souls good, and I would add a Word; I beseech you consider, though you may not go the same Way I go, you do not know how soon God may call for you by Death; and therefore I speak to them that are young ones in the first place, *That they remember their Creator in the Days of their Youth, before the evil Day is come, and the Days wherein they themselves shall say, they have no Pleasure in them.* And to those that are antient, that have spent the greatest part of their Time here, in sporting in their own Lufts, I would only say this to 'em, There is yet a Day of Grace, *To day if you will hear his Voice.* Jesus Christ is held forth in the Gospel freely; He holds forth his Blood freely; for the worst of Sinners are not too old, nor too wicked, nor too great, they are not too unclean for Jesus Christ to pity; and therefore Friends, consider in the Fear of the Lord whereabouts you are, and how the Case stands with your poor Souls. I have said what I have to say, only I would desire that I might have liberty to wait upon God, to commit my Soul, and the Concernments of each other to the Lord in Prayer. Then he address'd himself to the Lord in Prayer.

His Prayer being ended, he said he could not speak more, being very much tired, and his Body brought very low. The Hangman said, *The Lord receive your Soul.* He reply'd, *I thank you.*

Then another said, *This is a happy Day.* He said, *I bless the Lord it is so.* The other said, *The Lord make your Passage easy.* He said, *I trust he will so.* One ask'd if he had any thing to say to the Sheriff? He said, *No, but only thank him for his Civility.* Then the Hangman having prepared him for his Death, drew away the Cart, *John James* said aloud, (lifting up his Hands) *Father, into thy Hands I commit my Spirit,* and so finished his Course.

The Sheriff and Hangman were so civil to him in his Execution, as to suffer him to be dead before he was cut down; the Hangman taking out his Heart, and burning his Members and Entrails, return'd his Head and Quarters back to *Newgate*, put in a Basket in a Cart, and from thence were disposed by the King, *viz.* his Quarters to the Gates of the City, and his Head first upon the Bridge, but afterwards (by Appointment) taken down thence, and put upon a Pole in *White-Chappel*, over-against the Passage to the Meeting-place, where he and his Company were apprehended.

The Execution of Sir HEN. VANE, the 14th of June, 1662. related by a Friend of Sir Harry's.

HE said, God bid *Moses* go to the top of *Mount Pisgab* and die: So he bid him go up to the top of *Tower-Hill* and die.

Several Friends being with him in his Chamber this Morning, he oft encouraged them to Chearfulness, as well by his Example as Expression. In all his Deportment, he shew'd himself marvellously fitted to meet the King of Terrors, without the least Affrightment. But to shew where his Strength lay, he said, He was a poor unworthy Wretch, and had nothing but the Grace and Goodness of God to depend upon. He said
more-

moreover, Death shrunk from him, rather than he from it. Upon the Occasion of parting with his Relations, he said, There is some Flesh remaining yet, but I must cast it behind me, and press forward to my Father.

Then one of the Sheriff's Men came in and told him, There was no Sled to come, but he was to walk on foot.

He told his Friends, the Sheriff's Chaplain came to him at Twelve of the Clock that Night, with an Order for his Execution, telling him, he was come to bring him that fatal Message of Death. I think, Friends, that in this Message was no Dismalness at all. After the Receipt of which, I slept four Hours so soundly, that the Lord hath made it sufficient for me, and now I am going to sleep my last, after which I shall need Sleep no more.

Then Mr. Sheriff coming into the Room, was friendly saluted by him, and after a little Pause, communicated a Prohibition that he said he had receiv'd, which was, That he must not speak any thing against his Majesty, or the Government. His Answer to this he himself relates on the Scaffold. He further told Mr. Sheriff, he was ready; but the Sheriff said, he was not, nor could be this half hour yet; Then, Sir, it rests on you, not on me (said Sir *Henry*) for I have been ready this half hour. Then the Sheriff, at his Request, promised him his Servants should attend him on the Scaffold, and be civilly dealt with; neither of which were performed; for (notwithstanding this Promise) they were beaten and kept off the Scaffold, till he said, What, have I never a Servant here?

After this, one of the Sheriff's Men came and told him, there must be a Sled; to which Sir *Henry* replied, Any way, how they please, for I long to be at home, to be dissolved and to be with Christ, which is best of all. He went very

cheerfully and readily down the Stairs from his Chamber, and seated himself on the Sled, (Friends and Servants standing about him) then he was forthwith drawn away towards the Scaffold. As he went, some in the *Tower* (Prisoners as well as others) spake to him, praying the Lord to go with him. And after he was out of the *Tower*, from the tops of Houses, and out of Windows, the People used such Means and Gestures as might best discover, at a distance, their Respects and Love to him, crying aloud, The Lord go with you, the great God of Heaven and Earth appear in you, and for you; whereof he took what Notice he was capable in those Circumstances, in a cheerful manner accepting their Respect, putting off his Hat and bowing to them. Being ask'd several times, how he did, by some about him, he answer'd, Never better in all my life. Another replied, How should he do ill that suffers for so glorious a Cause? To which a tall black Man said, Many suffer'd for a better Cause; And may for a worse, said Sir *Henry*; wishing, That when they come to seal their *better Cause* (as he call'd it) with their Blood (as he was now going to seal his) they might not find themselves deceiv'd; and as to this Cause, said he, it hath given Life in Death to all the Owners of it, and Sufferers for it.

Being pass'd within the Rails on *Tower-hill*, there were many loud Acclamations of the People, crying out, The Lord Jesus go with your dear Soul, &c. One told him, That was the most glorious Seat he ever sat on; he answer'd, It is so indeed, and rejoyced exceedingly.

Being come to the Scaffold, he cheerfully ascends, and being up, after the Crowd on the Scaffold was broken in two pieces, to make way for him, he shew'd himself to the People on the front of the Scaffold, with that noble and christian-like
 Depart-

Deportment, that he rather seem'd a Looker on, than the Person concern'd in the Execution, inso-much that it was difficult to persuade many of the People that he was the Prisoner. But when they knew that the Gentleman in the black Suit and Cloak (with a scarlet silk Waistcoat, the victorious Colour shewing itself at the Breast) was the Prisoner, they generally admir'd that noble and great Presence he appear'd with. How chearful he is ! said some : He does not look like a dying Man ! said others ; with many like Speeches, as astonish'd with that strange Appearance he shined forth in.

Then (Silence being commanded by the Sheriff) lifting up his Hands and Eyes towards Heaven, and resting his Hands on the Rails ; and taking a very serious, compos'd, and majestick View of the great Multitude about him, he spake as follows.

His Speech on the Scaffold.

Gentlemen, Fellow-Countrymen, and Christians,

WHEN Mr. Sheriff came to me this Morning, and told me he had receiv'd a Command from the King, that I should say nothing reflecting upon his Majesty or the Government ; I answer'd, I should confine and order my Speech, as near as I could, so as to be least offensive, saving my Faithfulness to the Trust reposed in me, which I must ever discharge with a good Conscience unto Death ; for I ever valued a Man according to his Faithfulness to the Trust reposed in him, even on his Majesty's Behalf, in the late Controversy. And if you dare trust my Discretion, Mr. Sheriff, I shall do nothing but what becomes a good Christian and an

Englishman; and so I hope I shall be civilly dealt with.

When Mr. Sheriff's Chaplain came to me last Night about twelve of the Clock, to bring me, as he call'd it, the fatal Message of Death, it pleased the Lord to bring that Scripture to my Mind in the third of *Zechary*, to intimate to me, that he was now taking away my filthy Garments, causing mine Iniquities to pass from me, with intention to give me change of Rayment, and that my Mortal should put on Immortality.

I suppose you may wonder when I shall tell you that I am not brought hither according to any known Law of the Land. It is true, I have been before a Court of Justice (and am now going to appear before a greater Tribunal, where I am to give an Account of all my Actions) under their Sentence I stand here at this time. When I was before them, I could not have the Liberty and Privilege of an *Englishman*, the Grounds, Reasons, and Causes of the Actings I was charg'd with, duly consider'd; I therefore desir'd the Judges that they would set their Seals to my Bill of Exceptions; I press'd hard for it again and again, as the Right of myself and every free-born *Englishman*, by the Law of the Land, but was finally deny'd it -----

Here Sir *John Robinson* (Lieutenant of the Tower) interrupted him, saying, Sir, you must not go on thus, and (in a furious manner, generally observ'd, even to the Dissatisfaction of some of their own Attendants) said that he rail'd against the Judges, and that it was a Lye, and I am here, says he, to testify that it is false.

Sir *Henry Vane* replied, God will judge between me and you in this Matter. I speak but Matter of Fact, and cannot you bear that? 'Tis evident the Judges have refus'd to sign my Bill of Excep-
tions

tions-----Then the Trumpets were order'd to sound or murre in his Face, with a contemptible Noise, to hinder his being heard : At which Sir Henry (lifting up his Hand, and then laying it on his Breast) said, What mean you, Gentlemen? is this your Usage of me? did you use all the rest so? I had even done, as to that, could you have been patient, but seeing you cannot bear it, I shall only say this, *That whereas the Judges have refused to seal that with their Hands that they have done, I am come to seal that with my Blood that I have done.* Therefore leaving this Matter, which I perceive will not be borne, I judge it meet to give you some Account of my Life.

I might tell you I was born a Gentleman, had the Education, Temper, and Spirit of a Gentleman, as well as others, being (in my youthful Days) inclin'd to the Vanities of this World, and to that which they call *Goodfellowship*, judging it to be the only means of accomplishing a Gentleman. But about the fourteenth or fifteenth Year of my Age (which is about thirty-four or five Years since) God was pleas'd to lay the Foundation or Ground-work of Repentance in me, for the bringing me home to himself, by his wonderful, rich, and free Grace, revealing his Son in me, that by the Knowledge of the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, I might (even whilst here in the Body) be made Partaker of eternal Life in the first Fruits of it.

When my Conscience was thus awaken'd, I found my former Course to be Disloyalty to God, Prophaneness, and a way of Sin and Death, which I did with Tears and Bitterness bewail, as I had cause to do. Since that Foundation of Repentance laid in me, through Grace I have been kept stedfast, desiring to walk in all good Conscience towards God and towards Men, ac-

according to the best Light and Understanding God gave me. For this I was willing to turn my Back upon my Estate, expose myself to Hazards in foreign Parts; yea, nothing seem'd difficult to me, so I might preserve Faith and a good Conscience, which I prefer before all things; and do earnestly persuade all People rather to suffer the highest Contradictions from Men, than disobey God, by contradicting the Light of their own Conscience. In this it is I stand with so much Comfort and Boldness before you all this Day, and upon this Occasion, being assur'd that I shall at last sit down in Glory with Christ, at his right Hand, I stand here this Day to resign up my Spirit into the Hands of that God that gave it me. Death is but a little Word, but 'tis a great Work to die, it is to be but once done, and after this cometh the Judgment, even the Judgment of the great God, which it concerns us all to prepare for. And by this Act I do receive a Discharge once for all out of Prison, even the Prison of the mortal Body also, which, to a true Christian, is a burdensome Weight.

In all respects, wherein I have been concern'd and engag'd, as to the Publick, my Design hath been to accomplish good Things for these Nations. Then (lifting up his Eyes, and spreading his Hands) he said, I do here appeal to the great God of Heaven, and all this Assembly, or any other Persons, to shew wherein I have defiled my Hands with any Man's Blood or Estate, or that I have sought myself in any publick Capacity or Place I have been in.

The Cause was three times stated.

First, In the Remonstrance of the House of Commons.

Secondly, In the Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant----- Upon this the Trumpets sounded,
the

the Sheriff catch'd at the Paper in his Hand, and Sir *John Robinson*, who at first had acknowledg'd that he had nothing to do there, wishing the Sheriff to see to it, yet found himself something to do now, furiously calling for the Writers Books, and saying, He treats of Rebellion, and you write it. Hereupon six Note-Books were deliver'd up. The Prisoner was very patient and composed under all these Injuries, and Soundings of the Trumpets several times in his Face, only saying, 'Twas hard he might not be suffer'd to speak; but, says he, my Usage from Man is no harder than was my Lord and Master's; and all that will live his Life this Day, must expect hard Dealing from the worldly Spirit---The Trumpets sounded again, to hinder his being heard. Then again *Robinson*, and two or three others, endeavour'd to snatch the Paper out of Sir *Henry's* Hand; but he kept it for a while, now and then reading part of it; afterwards, tearing it in pieces, he deliver'd it to a Friend behind him, who was presently forc'd to deliver it to the Sheriff. Then they put their Hands into his Pockets for Papers (as was pretended) which bred great Confusion and Dissatisfaction to the Spectators, seeing a Prisoner so strangely handled in his dying Words. This was exceedingly remarkable in the midst of all this Disorder, the Prisoner himself was observed to be of the most constant composed Spirit and Countenance, which he throughout so excellently manifested, that a Royalist swore he dy'd like a Prince.

The Prisoner suspecting beforehand the Disorder aforementioned, writ the main Substance of what he intended to speak on the Scaffold in that Paper they catch'd at, and which he tore in pieces, delivering it to a Friend, from whom the Sheriff had it as abovesaid; the true Copy where-
of

of was, by the Prisoner, carefully committed to a safe Hand before he came to the Scaffold, which take as follows.

The Work which I am at this time call'd unto, in this Place (as upon a publick Theatre) is to die, and receive a Discharge, once for all, out of Prison, to do that which is but once to be done; the doing or not doing of which well, and as becomes a Christian, does much depend upon the Life we have been taught of God to lead, before we come to this: They that live in the Faith do also die in it; Faith is so far from leaving Christians in this Hour, that the Work of it breaks forth then into its greatest Power, as if till then it were not enough at freedom to do its Office, that is, to look into the things that are unseen with most Stedfastness, Certainty, and Delight, which is the great Sweetner of Death and Remover of its Sting.

Give me leave therefore, in a very few Words, to give you an Account of my Life, and of the wonderful great Grace and Mercy of God, in bringing me home to himself, and revealing his Son in me; that by the Knowledge of the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, I might (even whilst here in the Body) be made Partaker of eternal Life, in the first Fruits of it, and at last sit down with Christ in Glory at his right Hand.

Here I shall mention some remarkable Passages and Changes of my Life; in particular, how unsought for by myself I was call'd to be a Member of the *long Parliament*, what little Advantage I had by it, and by what Steps I became satisfied with the Cause I was engag'd in and did pursue the same.

What

What the Cause was, did first shew itself in the first Remonstrance of the House of Commons.

Secondly, In *The Solemn League and Covenant*.

Thirdly, In the more refin'd pursuit of it by the Commons House, in their *Actings* single; with what Result they were growing up into, which was in the Breast of the House, and unknown; or what the three Proposals, mention'd in my Charge, would have come to at last, I shall not need now to say; but only, from all put together, to assert, That this Cause, which was owned by the Parliament, was the Cause of God, and for the promoting of the Kingdom of his dear Son Jesus Christ, wherein are comprehended our Liberties and Duties, both as Men and as Christians.

And since it hath pleased God, who separated me from the Womb to the Knowledge and Service of the Gospel of his Son, to separate me also to this hard and difficult Service at this time, and to single me out to the Defence and Justification of this his Cause, I could not consent, by any Words or Actions of mine, that the Innocent Blood that hath been shed in the Defence of it, throughout the whole War (the Guilt and moral Evil of which must and does certainly lie somewhere) did lie at my Door, or at theirs that have been the faithful Adherers to this Cause. This is with such Evidence upon my Heart, that I am most freely and chearfully willing to put the greatest Seal to it I am capable, which is, the pouring out of my very Blood in witness to it; which is all I shall need to say in this Place and at this Time, having spoken at large to it in my Defence at my Tryal, intending to have said more the last Day, as what I thought was reasonable for Arrest of the Judgment, but I was not permitted then to speak it; both which may, with

with Time and God's Providence, come to publick View.

And I must still assert, that I remain wholly unsatisfied that the Course of Proceedings against me at my Tryal were according to Law, but that I was run upon and destroy'd, contrary to Right, and the Liberties of *Magna Charta*, under the Form only of Justice ; which I leave to God to decide, who is the Judge of the whole World, and to clear my Innocency ; whilst in the mean time I beseech him to forgive them, and all that have had a Hand in my Death ; and that the Lord, in his great Mercy, will not lay it to their Charge.

And I do account the Lot of mine no other, than what is to be expected by those that are not of the World, but whom Christ hath chosen out of it ; for the Servant is not greater than his Lord : And if they have done this to the green Tree, they will do it much more to the dry.

However, I shall not altogether excuse myself. I know, that by many Weaknesses and Failures, I have given occasion enough of the ill Usage I have met with from Men, tho', in the main, the Lord knows the Sincerity and Integrity of my Heart, whatever Aspersions and Reproaches I have or do lie under. I know also that God is just in bringing this Sentence and Condemnation upon me for my Sins ; there is a Body of Sin and Death in me deserves this Sentence ; and there is a Similitude and Likeness also, that, as a Christian, God thinks me worthy to bear with my Lord and Head, in many Circumstances, in reference to these Dealings I have met with ; in the Good I have been endeavouring for many Years to be doing in these Nations, and especially now at last, in being numbred among Transgressors, and made a publick Sacrifice, thro' the Wrath and Contradictions

dictions of Men, and in having finished my Course, and fought the good Fight of Faith, and resisted in a Way of Suffering (as you see) even unto Blood.

This is but the needful Preparation the Lord hath been working in me, to the receiving of the Crown of Immortality, which he hath prepar'd for them that love him. The Prospect whereof is so chearing, that thro' the Joy (in it) that is set before the Eyes of my Faith, I can, thro' Mercy, *endure the Cross, despise this Shame*, and am become *more than Conqueror*, thro' Christ that hath loved me.

For my Life, Estate and all, is not so dear to me as my Service to God, to his Cause, to the Kingdom of Christ, and the future Welfare of my Country; and I am taught, according to the Example, as well as that most Christian Saying of a noble Person that lately died after this publick Manner in Scotland; *How much better is it to chuse Affliction and the Cross, than to sin or draw back from the Service of the living God, into the Ways of Apostacy and Perdition?*

That noble Person, whose Memory I honour, was with myself at the beginning and making of the *Solemn League and Covenant*; the Matter of which, and the holy Ends therein contain'd, I fully assent unto, and have been as desirous to observe; but the *rigid* Way of prosecuting it, and the *oppressing Uniformity* that hath been endeavour'd by it, I never approv'd.

This were sufficient to vindicate me from the false Aspersions and Calumnies which have been laid upon me, of *Jesuitism* and *Popery*, and almost what not, to make my Name of ill Savour with *good Men*; which dark Mists do now dispel of themselves, or at least ought, and need no Pains of mine in making an Apology.

For

For if any Man seek a Proof of Christ in me, let him read it in this Action of my Death, which will not cease to speak when I am gone; *And henceforth let no Man trouble me, for I bear in my Body the Marks of the Lord Jesus.*

I shall not desire in this Place to take up much time, but only, as my last Words, leave this with you: *That as the present Storm we now lie under, and the dark Clouds that yet hang over the reformed Churches of Christ, (which are coming thicker and thicker for a Season) were not unforeseen by me for many Years past (as some Writings of mine declare): So the coming of Christ in these Clouds, in order to a speedy and sudden Revival of his Cause, and spreading his Kingdom over the Face of the whole Earth, is most clear to the Eye of my Faith, even that Faith in which I die, whereby the Kingdoms of this World shall become the Kingdom of our Lord, and of his Christ. Amen. Even so, come Lord Jesus.*

Before the Stroke, he spake to this Effect: *I bless the Lord, who hath accounted me worthy to suffer for his Name. Blessed be the Lord that I have kept a Conscience void of Offence to this Day. I bless the Lord I have not deserted the righteous Cause, for which I suffer.*

But his very last Words of all at the Block were as followeth: *Father, glorify thy Servant in the Sight of Men, that he may glorify thee in the Discharge of his Duty to thee and to his Country.*

It was observ'd, that no Signs of inward Fear appear'd by any trembling or shaking of his Hands, or any other Parts of his Body, all along on the Scaffold. Yea, an ancient Traveller and curious Observer of the Demeanour of Persons in such publick Executions, did narrowly eye his Countenance to the last Breath, and his Head immediately after the Separation; he observ'd that his Countenance did not in the least change; and
whereas

whereas the Heads of all he had before seen, did some way or other move after severing, which argued some Reluctancy and Unwillingness to that Parting-blow ; the Head of this Sufferer lay perfectly still, immediately upon the Separation : On which he said to this purpose, That his Death was by the free Consent and Act of his Mind ; which Animadversion notably accords with what the Sufferer himself had before express'd, in differencing a Death by rational Choice, from that by Sickness, which is with Constraint upon the Body. He desir'd to be dissolv'd, and to be with Christ.

The CHARACTER of Sir HENRY VANE
the younger.

Sir *Henry Vane* was a Man of great Natural Parts, and of very profound Dissimulation, of a quick Conception, and very ready, sharp, and weighty Expression ; he had an unusual Aspect, which, tho' it might naturally proceed both from his Father and Mother, neither of which were beautiful Persons, yet made Men think there was something in him extraordinary, and his whole Life made good that Imagination ; within a very short time after he return'd from his Studies in *Magdalen-College* in *Oxford*, where, tho' he was under the Care of a very worthy Tutor, he liv'd not with great Exactness, he spent some little time in *France*, and more in *Geneva* ; and after his Return into *England*, contracted a full Prejudice and Bitterness against the Church, both against the Form of Government and the Liturgy, which was generally in great Reverence, even with many of those who were not Friends to the other in this Giddiness, which then much displeased, or seem'd to displease his Father, who still appear'd

appear'd highly conformable, and exceeding sharp against those who were not ; he transported himself into *New England*, a Colony, within few Years before planted by a Mixture of all Religions, which disposed the Professors to dislike the Government of the Church, who were qualified by the King's Charter to chuse their own Government and Governors, under the Obligation that every Man should take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, which all the first Planters did when they receiv'd their Charter, before they transported themselves from hence ; nor was there in many Years the least Scruple amongst 'em of complying with those Obligations, so far Men were in the Infancy of their Schism from refusing to take lawful Oaths : He was no sooner landed there, but his Parts made him quickly taken notice of, and very probably his Quality, being the eldest Son of a Privy-Counsellor, might give him some Advantage, insomuch that when the next Season came for the Election of the Magistrates, he was chosen their Governor ; in which Place he had so ill Fortune, his working and unquiet Fancy raising and refusing a thousand Scruples of Conscience, which they had not brought over with them, nor heard of before ; that he, unsatisfy'd with them, and they with him, transported himself into *England*, having sow'd such Seed of Dissension there, as grew up too prosperously, and miserably divided the poor Colony into several Factions, Divisions, and Persecutions of each other ; which still continue , to the great Prejudice of that Plantation, insomuch as some of them, upon the Ground of the first Expedition, Liberty of Conscience, have withdrawn themselves from their Jurisdiction, and obtain'd other Charters from the King, by which, in other Forms of Government, they have enlarg'd their Plantation within

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new Limits, adjacent to the other. He was no sooner return'd from *England*, than he seem'd to be much reform'd from his Extravagancies, and with his Father's Approbation and Direction married a Lady of a good Family, and by his Father's Credit with the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was High Admiral of *England*, was join'd presently and jointly with Sir *William Russel*, in the Office of Treasurer of the Navy (a Place of great Trust and Profit) which he equally shar'd with the other, and seem'd a Man well satisfy'd and compos'd to the Government, when his Father receiv'd the Disobligation from the Lord *Stafford*, by his being created Baron of *Raby*, the House and Land of *Vane*, which Title he had promis'd himself; but it was unluckily cast upon the Earl, purely out of Contempt of *Vane*; they suck'd in all the Thoughts of Revenge imaginable, and from thence the Son betook himself to the Friendship of Mr. *Pym*, and all discontented and seditious Persons, and contributed all that Intelligence that design'd the Ruin of the Earl, and which grafted him in the entire Confidence of those who promoted the same; so that nothing was conceal'd from him, tho' it is believ'd that he communicated his own Thoughts to very few.

The Execution of GEORGE PHILIPS, THOMAS TONGE, NATHANIEL GIBBS, and FRANCIS STUBBS; on Monday, December 22, 1662.

THE 22d of *December*, *George Philips*, *Thomas Tonge*, *Nathaniel Gibbs*, and *Francis Stubbs*, were drawn on two Hurdles, viz. *Philips* and *Tonge* in one, and *Gibbs* and *Stubbs* in the other, to the common Place of Execution at *Tyburn*: Where being come, they were receiv'd into a Cart
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under the Gallows ; and the Executioner desiring them severally to forgive him, they all declar'd they did freely forgive him and all their Enemies, and did severally salute each other with this Phrase, *Welcome Brother* ; and to one another said, *We are now launching into the Deep*. They being all ty'd up, *Philips* gave the Executioner a small Sum of Money, and the rest directed the Executioner to take out of their Pockets a small Parcel of Money, as their Gift to him ; and *Philips* afterwards bended a Six-pence, and presented it to a Friend of his, *Mr. Stroud* ; and a Shilling likewise bended to one *Mr. Clark*. Then the Under-Sheriff of *Middlesex* acquainted them they had all free Liberty to speak, provided they did not reflect upon his Majesty, or the present Government ; which they all promised not to do, and thanked him for his Civility. And then *Philips* began in the Manner following :

Friends and Country-men,

I am come this Day to pay that great Debt that I owe to Nature ; it is a Work that had need be well done, for it is but once to be done. My Hope is now above ; and for what I now come to suffer, for my own Part, I bless God, in whose Presence I now speak, as a dying Man, I had not any murderous Thought against the King ; but I have pray'd for him, and wish'd that he might Live and Reign, and long Reign in Righteousness ; and that God would make his Crown a Crown of Righteousness upon his Head, and bless him in his Government, so that he may not know any of these Occasions more : For my Part, I have ventur'd my Life for his Majesty ; it was far from my Heart to do any thing of that Nature. The Lord receive my Soul. I freely forgive all Men, as I hope to be forgiven of God : I never did act any thing, but only this, which

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was my Ignorance of the Laws, that I did not discover it ; and I was justly found Guilty, for not discovering. I have done, Mr. Sheriff ; but hope, after my Brethren have spoken, we may have liberty to call upon the Lord.

Und. Sher. It will not be denied you.

Then Mr. *Tonge* began in this manner.

Friends and Country-men,

You see me here a dying Man : I have sometimes been in some Mens Company, where I have heard them contriving the Business for which I am condemned to die ; and that which led me to join with them was this, I was, and had been sometimes in the Army ; and I have looked upon this Cause to be good. As for his Majesty, the Lord bless him, and prosper him, and put it into his Heart, that he may be a Nursing-Father indeed to his Country.

Und. Sher. Have you any more to say ? You may speak.

Tonge. I have nothing more.

And then *Gibbs* proceeded and said, Country-men and Friends, and I hope Christians, and the last Consideration is that that makes me the more free to speak to you ; we all profess to own God and Jesus Christ to be our Saviour, our Redeemer, our Sanctifier, and Giver of, and Bestower upon us eternal Life ; this should excite our Souls to love one another ; and upon the account of God's Love, that God has so loved us as to give Jesus Christ, to reconcile us Sinners to God, we ought to love one another, it is his great Command. Truly, as to the Cause for which I am brought here, God, the great Judge of Heaven and Earth, before whom I stand, knows that in the Place where I have liv'd, I behav'd myself as an obedient Subject ; and when there was an Insurrection by the *Fifth-Monarchy Men*, I went out in my own

Person, tho' I had Servants as well as others, purely out of Affection to his Majesty, knowing that in the Peace of his Government I should have Peace, and so I went out, hazarded my Life, and continu'd out till all was quiet. I was at a Neighbour's House drinking of a Cup of Beer on Tuesday Night in the Kitchen alone, save only the Man of the House and the Maid; these Men came in, one *Hill* and *Riggs*, that are the Witnesses against me; there were *Riggs* and *Hill* and this *Stubbs*, and one *Beazeley*; and I being alone in the Kitchen, they ask'd for one *Gibbs*; the People of the House told me there were some Gentlemen would speak with me; I wished them to direct them to me, and they came to me; and thro' the Ignorance of the Law, which, it seems, runs thus, If any Words treasonable against his Majesty are spoken, it is Treason to conceal 'em: So thus I have given you, in part, the Cause of my being here.

Hereupon Information was given to the King's Majesty, that I should say there would be a Rising, and that *All-hallows* Eve was the Time; that there were Arms sent into the Country, and that *Ludlow* was to be General; and this was charged upon me by the King's Majesty, when I came before him to be examin'd: And upon *Hill's* and *Riggs's* Oath, I was sent to the Tower, and kept a long time a Prisoner, examin'd three or four times over by the Lords of his Majesty's Council. I have one Word more; as touching my Judgment, I am reputed in the World to be one of those that is called by the Name of *Anabaptist*, a Name of Derision and Scorn; one is an *Anabaptist*, one an *Independent*, one a *Presbyterian*, one this, and one that, and one the other; who gave these Nick-Names to Christians? There is but one God, one Lord Jesus, one Baptism, one Hope.

Hope of Glory : How comes the Body of Christ, or the Members of Christ to be called these Nick-Names? But now, as I am one that do profess Faith in God through the Lord Jesus Christ, and do stand before you all, and before the Lord, I know no other God, but the eternal and living God, that hath made the World, and that rules and reigns, and disposes all his Creatures; I do believe in this God, he has been gracious to me a poor Sinner, and to all poor Sinners, that when we, by reason of Sin, had forfeited all our Mercies, and were under Wrath and everlasting Destruction; and must perish for ever; that God did out of his rich Grace and tender Mercies give his only begotten Son, according to his Promise, to be the Blessing of God to the poor Gentiles, according as the Scripture did declare; the Scripture foreseeing that God would justify the Heathens through Faith, preached before the Gospel to *Abraham*, saying, In thee shall all the Nations of the Earth be blessed: He speaks not of the natural Seed of *Abraham*, but of Christ; so that all the Blessings that God did convey to the sinful World, are by the means of Jesus Christ, whom God in the Fulness of Time did send his Son, born of a Woman, to redeem poor Sinners under the Law; and herein was the great Grace and Mercy of God towards all Sinners, that he was so gracious to send his beloved Son out of his own Bosom to take our Natures upon him, who were defiled, and cursed, and condemned, and separated from God. I say, Jesus Christ took our Natures upon him, and for this very End to do the Will of his heavenly Father, *Lo it is written in the Volume of thy Book*, I come to do thy Will, O God; and it was his Meat and Drink to do his Will; and what was that, but that we might be sanctified through the offering up of the Body of Jesus

Christ for our Sins, to tread the Wine-press of his Father's Wrath, and to endure the Cross, and bear all our Sins in his own Body, that made his Soul heavy unto Death: He was a Surety for us and our Sins, and for our sakes the Lord laid on him the Iniquity of us all, and he hath borne our Grief and endured our Punishment; it made his Soul cry out, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? or else we must for ever be banished out of the Presence of God, and never have any Hopes of Glory, of Faith, or of Salvation, had not the Son of God become our Mediator and Surety; so there is one God, and one Mediator, the Man Christ Jesus. He gave himself a Ransom for all our Sins, to free us from the Wrath to come, everlasting Destruction, and from the Worm that never dies. O that we could ever be thankful to God, live to him that hath so loved us, as to send his Son to die for us, and is by the almighty Power of God raised from the Dead, and now sits at the Right Hand of God, and ever lives to make Intercession.

Truly, Friends, this is not the Love of Man, but the Love of God, and therefore eternal Love. God so loved the World; it is God's Love, he loved Sinners, ungodly ones; he did so love them as to give his only begotten Son to save them, to reconcile them, to uphold them, to redeem them from Wrath to come; it was to seek and save them that were lost. This is a faithful Saying, and worthy of all Acceptation, that Jesus Christ came into the World to save Sinners. We all, like Sheep, had gone astray, and must perish in our Sins, had not the Lord Jesus been sent of his Father, out of his Bosom, to declare the good Will of God, and did it, by which we are sanctified through the offering up of the Body of Jesus Christ; and this Lord Jesus Christ the eternal Son
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of God, he is the Mediator between God and poor Sinners. Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavy laden, says Christ, and I will give you Rest; now this Grace is from God, we are saved by Grace, and that not of our selves, it is the Gift of God, through Faith in Christ we are saved; and all things that do pertain to Life and Godliness it is the Gift of God; now all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, to wit, that God was in Christ reconciling the World to himself, not imputing their Trespases unto him. Would you know the Forgiveness of your Sins, your Peace with God, and that God is well-pleased with you? God is reconciled by Jesus Christ unto you, and does not impute your Sins unto you, but looks on the Righteousness of Christ as Satisfaction, that thereby you might have the Remission of your Sins through the Blood of Christ. Be it known unto all Men, that through this Man's preaching, the Forgiveness of Sins, *Acts* 13. 38, 39. and by him all that do believe are justified from all things, from which they could not be by the Law of *Moses*. Now Justification from Sin, and Redemption from Iniquity, is thro' the Knowledge of Christ's Death for your Sins, and his Resurrection; and now there is no other Name given under Heaven whereby we can be saved, but by the Name of Jesus, and whosoever believeth in his Name shall not perish, but have everlasting Life, *Joh.* 5. 24. It is the Doctrine of Jesus Christ, it is his Word, and I hope you will search the Scriptures, and look into those things for your Souls Good, when Christ says, Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that heareth my Words and believeth them, he hath everlasting Life, and shall not come into Condemnation, but is passed from Death to Life. The Reason why God does assure poor Sinners they

shall not pass into everlasting Condemnation and perish, is through his rich Grace, through his Promise; for he hath promised, he will be merciful to our Iniquities, and our Sins will remember no more; and these his Promises of Grace, which are all Yea and Amen in Christ, are ratifi'd by the Blood of Christ; the Blood of Christ is this Blood of the New Covenant, and it is that by which we have the Forgiveness, Remission, and Cleansing of all our Sins.

Und. Sher. Mr. Gibbs, let me interrupt you, this is very good and pertinent, but you have said these things over and over; there is another of your Friends to speak, and the Time grows short, pray go on to the Matter, or conclude.

Gibbs. I shall speak a Word or two as to the Knowledge of Forgiveness of Sins, by and thro' Jesus Christ; and so the Knowledge of the Resurrection of the Dead, it is the Fruit of Jesus Christ; for by the first Man came Death, and by the second Man, Christ, came Life; and God that has by his exceeding great and mighty Power raised up Jesus Christ from the Grave and Power of Sin, he also shall raise us up by the same Power, and when he comes again the second time, at his appearing and coming, we shall see him, and be made like to him, and he will receive us to himself; he is gone to prepare a Place for us, and in his Father's House are many Mansions, and if it were not so, he would have told us: And now God that hath given eternal Life, and Forgiveness of Sins unto his poor Servants, he will also, when Jesus Christ shall come to judge the World, receive him into his everlasting Glory, which is my Faith, Expectation, and Hope, in God through Jesus Christ. A Man may bear his Infirmities, but a wounded Conscience who can bear? When God smites, who can bear? And therefore I desire,

fire, as I believe the Forgiveness of all my Sins, through the rich Grace of God, through the Bloodshed of Jesus Christ his Son; every one must give account to God, and as their Works are, so will their Reward be, either accepted by God, as Workers of Christ, or condemned as Workers of Iniquity. Last of all, as to the separated Congregations to whom I belong, I have observed in those few Days that I have lived, there is a great deal of Animosity, evil Will, hard Censuring, and Abusing the precious Saints of Jesus Christ. If they are in an Error, you that are in the Truth instruct them, and you may recover them out of the Claws of the Devil: Are you Christians, and have the Light of God in your Souls? O then strengthen your Brethren, do not give them Nick-Names, and abuse them; that's not the way; Christ teaches another Lesson, *That if thine Enemy hunger, you should feed him; and if he be a thirsty, give him Drink*: We should pray to the Lord that he would turn those that be out of his way, into the right way.

Und. Sher. You know we must be all subject to Government, every Congregation must not have a Ruler, their Meetings are prohibited by good Authority, and because they will not be obedient to good Government.

Gibbs. I do not say, that every Congregation must have a Ruler, and I hope I speak the Words of Sobriety; I hope you will put a charitable Construction upon what I say. As to the Magistrates, I have a Word or two.

Und. Sher. Speak well of them.

Gibbs. Be not afraid, I will not speak any Evil of them; Magistracy is an Ordinance of God, and the End of Magistracy is for the Punishment of Evil-doers, and the Praise of them that do well; and for this purpose, I do desire that the Lord would

would give to the supreme Magistrate here on Earth, Wisdom and Understanding, a wise Council, a Council fearing God, and hating Covetousness, that they may study to exalt the Throne of the King in Righteousness and Truth; O that we may all praise the Lord for Deliverance out of Condemnation; and I say it is the Duty of all the Subjects of the King's Majesty, in all his Kingdoms and Dominions, to live peaceably, and to pray for the King's Majesty: Prayers and Intercessions ought to be made for all Men, especially for Kings and Governors, for this very End and Purpose, that thereby we may live in all Quietness, Goodliness, Honesty and Justice; and to this very End the Lord bless our Magistracy, give them Council and Wisdom, that they may love them that love the Lord, and hate them that hate the Lord.

After *Gibbs* had done speaking, then *Stubbs* began, who went over all the Particulars of his Tryal at large, to which for brevity's sake we refer you. After which he said as follows:

Friends and Countrymen,

It is true, and I must confess my Sin in the Presence of God (and did ask Mercy of the King) that I was in the Company when I did hear wicked and treasonable Words spoken; and I being ignorant, and not knowing the Law, did not discover what I did hear.

As to my Judgement, truly I desire to own that the Scriptures own; I shall speak of that Place in the *Hebrews*, which is the Command of Christ, I desire the Churches and the People, every one to live the Life of Faith, and love one another; I am confident it would be a Means of a bundance of Comfort here in the Nation; there is a kind of Heart-burning and rising one against another, you are so and so, throw Dirt one against

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the other; it is your and your Duty, still to be studying to live in Love, and bear one with another, not be angry, destroy, and fight one with another: O that we might live that Life of Love that God has commanded, then we may expect the Presence of God to be with us; surely God hath a great Judgment against his own People, for not loving one another.

Philips. Mr. Sheriff, I have only one Word to speak before I go to my Prayers; that is, Here I see some Gentlemen present that are in the Capacity that I was in as a Soldier; I say, be faithful to your Trust, and beg of God that you may stand fast, and not dishonour God, nor be disobedient to the King; when the Fifth-monarchy Men were up, I was free and willing to lay down my Life for the Interest of the Nation, and did venture it as much as any young Man in *London*; therefore good Friends, have a Care: I am now brought to suffer; it is true, I was guilty of concealing it; I desire your Prayers, that now as we are going to the State of Eternity, from whence there is no Redemption, I humbly beseech you, as Christians and Friends, that you would seek earnestly to God, that now he may receive our Souls into everlasting Rest and Happiness, which he has been pleas'd to bestow on them that love him and fear him; and the Lord knows my Heart, I speak it in his Presence, that had the King been pleased to shew Mercy to me, I should have been a faithful and true Subject to him all my Days; but seeing it is the righteous Hand of God, that now I am come to this untimely Death, I desire you to lift up your Hearts and Souls to God with me, that when my Soul shall leave this Body, that the Lord Jesus Christ may with his everlasting Arms receive me to Glory: There is no Redemption after Death, we shall either go to eternal Woe, or
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eternal Happiness; therefore, good Friends, I desire you to look up to God, that when my Soul departs, it may be receiv'd to Glory.

Then they went to their Prayers; which being ended, their Caps were severally pull'd over their Faces, and after some private Ejaculations, the Executioner caused the Cart to be drawn away; and after they had hanged a while, they were severally beheaded and quartered according to their Sentence, and their Heads and Quarters conveyed in a Basket to *Newgate*, to be disposed of at the King's Pleasure. Which he was graciously pleas'd thus to dispose of :

Their several Quarters to be buried; which was accordingly done on Saturday Night, *December 27*.

Their Heads to be set up on several Poles, two on the one *Tower-hill*, and two on the other, as near the *Tower* as may be.

The Speech of JAMES MITCHEL, at his Execution in the Grass-Market in Edingburgh, the 18th of January 1677-8.

I Suppose some will be desirous to know what hath brought me to this Place of Sufferings; to which I have no other Answer than that which *Elijah* gave, when threatned with Death by *Jezebel*, 1 Kings 19. 14. *I have been very Jealous for the Lord God of Hosts, because the Children of Israel have forsaken thy Covenant, thrown down thine Altars, and true Worship, and slain his Prophets and Ministers: And they seek my Life to take it away.*

With all my Heart and Soul I own and adhere to the Work of Reformation, as it was begun and carried on in this Kingdom, according to the Word of God, and the *National Covenant*, and the *Solemn League and Covenant*; as it was settled a-
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mongst us in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, by General Assemblies, Synods, Presbyteries, Kirk-Sessions, and the Peoples just Power to chuse and call their own lawful Pastors ; and I do declare, that I judge Patronage to be a Popish Right, and an Usurpation in the House of God.

I do believe, and am persuaded, that Magistracy is an Ordinance appointed of God, as well under the *New Testament* as it was under the *Old* ; and that whosoever resisteth the lawful Magistrate in the Exercise of his lawful Power, resisteth the Ordinance and Appointment of God, *Rom. 13. 3.* For he is God's Minister to you for thy Good, and in doing Good thou needs not be afraid of him, *1 Pet. 2. 12.* We must obey the lawful Magistrate for Conscience sake, *Deut. 17. 15, 16, 17.* The lawful Magistrate must be a Man qualified according to God's Appointment, and not according to the Peoples Lust and Pleasure, lest in the End he should prove to them a Prince of *Sodom*, and a Governor of *Gomorrhah*, whom God in his Righteousness should appoint for their Judgment, and establish for their Correction ; he must be one of thy Brethren, and not the Face of a Stranger ; he must not make himself strong by multiplying of Horses, to the End he may compel the Lord's People to rebel against the Lord's express Command : Nor *Jeroboam*-like, compel the People to any Course of Apostacy ; he must not multiply Wives to himself, and much less Whores, nor marry an idolatrous Wife like *Jezebel*, *1 Kings 16. 31.* Nor be covetous, in multiplying to himself Silver or Gold ; he must be a diligent Student of the Law of the Lord all the Days of his Life, that he turn neither to the right Hand, nor to the left Hand therefrom, but must judge the People accordingly ; otherwise neither he,

he, nor his Children, can expect to prolong their Days, 2 Sam. 23. 3. He must not be a Son of Belial without, or above Order and Law, whom a Man cannot touch except he be fenced with Iron, for such shall all be prest away: For (saith David) *He that ruleth over Men must be just, ruling in the Fear of the Lord, &c.* But if a Man simulating himself to be thus qualified, and thereafter, when he hath strengthened himself upon the Throne, shall abjure and sacrifice his Oath and Covenant, both to God and his Subjects, and shall transgress the Law and Commandment of the Lord (who hath given the Magistrate only one accumulative Power to promote, protect, and defend God's Laws, Truth and People, from being corrupted, violated, or any Ways damnified; and for that End he hath received both his Place and his Power from God and Men, for he hath not receiv'd of the Lord an obstructive, destructive, or privative Power) for (as has been said) the People can give no Right, nor Power to any Man, but what is according to God's Appointment, lest they should incur the sad Challenge from God, *Hosea 8. 4. They have set up Kings, but not by me; they have made Princes, but I knew it not.* For in ch. 10. v. 3. *Israel* there is brought in confessing their Fault, and they denied they had a King, because he was not such as God had appointed, and said, what should a King do to them, seeing he had partly by Force, and partly by Fraud, withdrawn them from the Fear and Obedience which they ought to God and to his Law, and had seduced and compelled them to Idolatry, and worshipping of false Gods? And if the Magistrate, being in Power, shall overturn the Covenant-work of God, his Truth and Interests, the fundamental and municipal Laws of the Land, and moreover by a settled Parliament, according to his own Mind, and
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for his own Use and Ends, they, as the Peoples Representatives, do by Acts Rescissory rescind all Acts of laudable lawful Parliaments, Committee of States, or Councils, wherein were contained or comprehended any mutual Bond, Obligation, Covenant, or Contract betwixt the Prince or People, he having divested himself of any legal Right he could have, or pretend, over such a People, and they being in *Statu quo prius*, and none having Right to rule over them without their own Consent. If the aforesaid Magistrate shall then again usurp and invade his Peoples Lives, Religions, Liberties, and Laws, and make even simple supplicating of him Crimes of Treason, contrary to the Dictates of Nature, and he by armed Emisseries, and by his arbitrary Power carried on by the Sword in their Hands, compel the Lord's People to relinquish and to forsake the true Religion and Worship of God, and make a Surrender of both their Souls, Consciences, Lives, Laws, Liberties, and embrace a false Religion, and Will-worship, and engage to serve and worship false and Idol-gods at his Pleasure ; or thus all that is dear and near to a People being in the Extremity of Hazard ; now it necessarily followed to be the Duty of such People, or any Part of them, to take up Arms in defence of their Lives, Laws, Religion, and Liberties, and of their Posterity, that they may not be left in such an intolerable Bondage, and as they would not be accounted guilty of bringing God's Wrath upon the whole Land ; *Jer. 22. 2, 3. Hear the Word of the Lord, O King of Judah, &c. Thou and thy Servants, and the People that enter in by these Gates, execute Judgment and Righteousness, and deliver the Oppressed out of the hand of the Oppressor ; Chap. 37. 2. But neither he, nor the Servants, nor the People of the Land hearkened to the Prophet Jeremiah, until Wrath*
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from the Lord consum'd them all. Now, had it not been the Peoples Duty, to have executed Judgment and Righteousness, and to have delivered the Oppressed out of the Hands of the Oppressor; *Zedekiah* and his Servants (which I think was meant by the Nobility and Princes) proving deficient, in order to the performing of their Duty, it necessarily followeth, to be the Peoples Duty; for if it had not been their Duty, it had not been their Sin to have omitted it: But here we see it is as well charged home, to be the Peoples Sin, as to be the Sin of the King, or the Sin of his Nobles: But, say some, who shall be Judge in such Cases? To which I answer, That the Law of God is the only supreme and infallible Judge in all such Cases; for what other Judge is, when two Kings or Monarchs fall out in War, neither of them being subject to any other Judge. But some profane and brutishly-ignorant Malignant saith, that this or that ignorant Fellow, or Hussy, take upon them to determine what the Law of God saith in such Cases: I answer, neither this, nor that ignorant Fellow, or Hussy, nor yet this or that ignorant, profane, wicked, or perfidious Prince or Princess is capable to be Judge; *Deut. 30. 11.* *For this Commandment which I command thee this day, it is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off; vers. 12.* *It is not in Heaven, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to Heaven and bring it to us, that we may hear it and do it, &c. Neither is it beyond the Sea, &c. but the Word is very near unto thee, in thy Mouth, and in thy Heart that thou may'st do it.* And in this Case I do appeal to any Man of a sober Wit and Judgment, seeing the Secrets of the Lord are with them that fear him, *Psal. 25. 14.* And seeing evil Men understand not Judgment, but they that seek the Lord understand all things, *Prov. 28. 5.* *For they know not how to do right, who store up Robbery in their Palaces,* *A-*
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mos 3. 10. Who is most capable to judge, what the Law of God determineth, in all such Matters? *Artaxerxes*, a great Monarch, commanded, *That whatsoever is commanded of the God of Heaven, that it should be diligently done, for the House of the God of Heaven; for why should there be Wrath upon the King and his Sons?* Ezra 7. 23. But O how many Men at this time, of the Sons of *Belial*, contrary to what is here spoken of, screw up those who are above them to so high a Pinnacle, and an illimited and arbitrary Power, far above what either the Law of God, or the Law of Nature will admit of, for this very End and Purpose, that they may glory in the Works of their own Hands; and that he whom they have thus set up, and to whom they have made a Surrender of both Credit, Conscience, and common Honesty, may return unto them a Power over others, who are under them, by putting Swords in the Hands of bloody Cut-throats, who are raised and kept up for that Effect, to keep and bring into an *Egyptian* Bondage, the Persons, Lives, Laws, Liberties, yea, even the Souls and Consciences of the Lord's People: The which Power I declare to be diabolical, profane, and blasphemous, and *Pharaoh-like* to say, *Who is the Lord, that they should obey him?* Exod. 5. 2. Now seeing both the Throne and the Judgment are the Lord's, then, O blessed and happy Magistrate, who ruleth and governeth his Subjects, keeping in a strait Line of Subordination to God's Law and Statutes; for in so doing, who may say to him, *What dost thou?* Job 9. 12. And O happy and blessed People, thus govern'd. Deut. 4. 8. *And what Nation is there so great, that hath Statutes and Judgments so righteous, as all this Law which I set before you this day?* But O the blasphemous Perjuries and Wickedness of this apostate Generation, whom no Bands, Obligations, nor

Covenants can bind, except these spoken in *Psal.* 149. 8. But shall they thus break the Covenant, and escape and be deliver'd? *Ezek.* 17. 15, 18. As if the Lord's Hand and Power could not reach them, to inflict just and due Punishment upon them which commit such things. I do detest and abhor that woful Indulgence and Encroachment, and Usurpation on the Crown and Prerogatives Royal of our Lord Jesus Christ (at least in the Givers thereof) howbeit, I have very much Love, Charity, and Affection to many who have embraced the same; for I do really think, that they have been out-witted in that matter, and have not wickedly departed from following the Lord; yet I hope they shall get their Souls for a Prey in the Day of the Lord, although they may suffer Loss, in building such Hay and Stubble upon the Rock Christ Jesus, when that their Work shall be burnt up by the Fire of his Jealousy.

I protest before God, Angels, and Men, against all these Acts of Parliament or Council, which are against, and derogative to the Work of God and Reformation, and carrying on of the same, according as we are engaged and sworn in these holy Bands of the National Covenant, and solemn League and Covenant; I abhor the shedding of the Blood of the Lord's People, for their adhering to the same, and the People's guarding such in Prison-houses and at Scaffolds unto their Death; whom both by the Oath of God upon them, and by the eminent and laudable Laws of the Land, and by the Law of Nature they were obliged to have defended to the uttermost of their Lives and Fortunes: It being most well known, that such as were put to Death, had committed no Crime, but, on the contrary, had perform'd a Duty which they were as much obliged to have performed as these, if the Guarders had been as
faithful

faithful to God and Man as the Pannels were.

Likewise I protest against their Banishment, Imprisonment, or Finings, or Confinements, and against all the Hardships and Perplexities of whatsoever kind, which they have been put to, thro' the Iniquity of the Times: So that we may justly with our Predecessors say, That our Persecutors have devour'd us, and have crush'd us, have emptied us, swallowed us up like a Dragon, and have filled their Bellies with our Delicates, and have cast us out, *Jer.* 51. 34. For which Cause, God gave a Charge to prepare Instruments for the Overthrow and Destruction of such Persecutors, *vers.* 12. Because it was the Vengeance of the Lord and of his Temple, so shall our Remnant, who out-live these Persecutors, say, *vers.* 35. The Violence done to me and my Flesh be upon *Babylon*, and my Blood be upon the Inhabitants of *Chaldea*; let Wrath from the Lord pursue them, for their Blood and Violence in their Persons and Estates, and their Strength, wherein they confide, and in their Friends and Favourites, who have consulted and contrived within their wicked Courses. I hope the Time is drawing nigh, and that the Joints of their Loins are loosening, their Knees are beginning to smite one against another, *Dan.* 5. 6. and the Hand-writing begins to be pourtray'd upon the Wall, because they have not considered what God did to their Predecessors for their idolatrous Pride and Wickedness; although they knew it, yet they are become more insolent in Idolatry and Wickedness, and more daring against God than ever their Fore-fathers presumed to be, in meddling with the Vessels and Materials of God's House, and with the Crown and Kingly Office of Christ Jesus, and have appropriate them to their own idolatrous Ends and Uses, 21, 22. Therefore, when the furbished Sword of the Lord's In-

dignation and Justice breaketh forth to devour, which it may do, before the dark Night of these dreadful Dispensations pass over, then shall the time-serving Hypocrites of this Generation begin to their untimely Prayers, *viz.* Hills and Mountains fall upon them, to hide them from the Face of the righteous Judge; for who may abide the Day of his coming, for executing of Vengeance on his Adversaries? In that Day the Man shall be accused who keepeth back his Sword from Blood, and who doth the Work of the Lord deceitfully, *Jer.* 48. 10. Yea, happy shall he be that taketh this cursed, malignant, and prelatical Brood, and dasheth them against the Stones; yea, happy shall he be that rewardeth them as they have served us, *Psal.* 137. For this Honour have all his Saints, the high Praises of God in their Mouth, and a two-edg'd Sword in their Hand, to execute Vengeance upon the Heathen, *Psal.* 149.

Having thus deliver'd myself in the Points that I have mention'd, I only add to what I have said, that I do only own these things as my own Judgment in these great and important Matters, not willing that any thing, wherein others may differ from me, should be look'd upon as the Principles and Persuasion of that Party whereto I adhere: And I obtest that no Man be so diabolick and profane, as to charge this upon any of my Persuasion, it being but my own, in which I hope God hath approven me; and whom God justifieth, who dare condemn?

Now, if the Lord, in his wise and over-ruling Providence, bring me to the End of my Pilgrimage, and to my long-look'd for and desired Happiness, let him take his own Way and Time, in bringing me to it: And in the mean while, O my Soul, sing thou this Song, *Spring up*, O Well of this Happiness and Salvation, of all this eternal Hope

Hope and Consolation; and whilst thou art burthened with this Clog of a Clay Tabernacle, dig thou deep in it by Faith, Patience, Hope, and Charity, and with all the Instruments which God hath given thee; dig in it both by Precepts and Promises, dig carefully, and dig continually, ay, and till thou come to the Source and Head of the Fountain himself, from whence the Waters of Life flow forth; dig until thou come to the Assembly of the First-born, when this Song is most suitably sung to the Praise and Glory of the rich Mercy and free Grace of this Fountain of Life; O my Soul, follow (in all this digging) the Direction of the great Law-giver; so shalt thou prosper in all thy taking of pains: O happy Nobles and Princes of *Israel*, who were admitted to the Sight, and to the Song, to the Pains, and to the Profit, which none of the mixed Multitude of Murmurers were admitted to because of their Unbelief, *Numb.* 21. 17. And, O Father of Mercy, while I am tossed upon the turbulent Seas of manifold Troubles, grant that thy Presence may be with me, and that thy everlasting Arms may be underneath me, to support me; for sure I am, *Moses*, thy Servant, had good reason to be importunate in this Suit, *Exod.* 32. 2. compared with 14. and 15. *vers.* Chap. 34. 9. Seeing no less could furnish him with fresh Supplies in the Work he was about. O let thy Presence be with me, and then my Soul shall dig and sing, and sing, and dig thro' Times of Trouble into eternal Rest, where I shall be admitted to behold the Rock, Christ, out of whom floweth the pure Fountain and River of Life and Happiness, which I may drink, and not be damnified through the Assaults of Satan, or the Invasions of Sin, or of a wicked World any more. Now according to thy Promise, *Mat.* 10. 19. out of thy fatherly Mercy, grant present Help, Sup-

ply, and Direction in this Time of Trouble, seeing it is not in Man, that walketh, to direct his own Steps, *Jer.* 10. 23. And tho' it be a hard thing rightly to distinguish between Sin and Duty, yet thy Law, thy Word, and thy Truth, which are quick and powerful, dividing asunder of Soul and Spirit, and is a Director of the Thoughts, and thy Law giveth Light, *Psal.* 119. 105. *Psal.* 32. 8. For thy Testimonies, O Lord, are sure, making wise the Simple, *Psal.* 19. 7. For thou alone canst make all thy Dispensations prove profitable, in order to the purging away of Sin, even when they seem to be destructive, *Eesai.* 27. 9. especially, when thou intends them not for Destruction, but for Tryal, *Deut.* 8. 2, 16. and for further Humiliation; for thou, O Lord, hast led me for many Years thro' a barren and wearisome Wilderness, to the end that thou mayst work thy Work of Mortification in me, although, if it had seemed good unto thee, thou couldst have brought me into the Land of Promise and Rest a nearer way, *Exod.* 13. 17. For thou, by Hardships, many a time hidest Pride from Men, and sealest up their Instruction, that thou mayst deliver his Soul from the Pit, and that his Life may see the Light, *Job* 33. 17. And altho' thou, O Lord, shouldst send me the back Tract, and Tenor of my Life, to seek my Soul's Comforts, and Encouragements from thence; yet I have no Cause to complain of Hard-dealing from thy Hand, seeing it is thy ordinary way with some of thy People. *Psal.* 42. 6. *O God, my Soul is cast down within me, therefore will I remember thee from the Land of Jordan, and from the Hill Hermon, &c.* Yea, the last time he brought me to the Banqueting-House, and made Love his Banner over me (amongst the cold High-land Hills beside Kipper, Nov. 1673.) he remembered his former Kindnesses towards me; but withal he spoke it in
mine

mine Ear, that there was a tempestuous Storm to meet me in the Face, which I behoved to go thro' with the Strength of that Provision, *1 Kings 19. 7.* And now, O my Soul, seeing it is his ordinary Way and Method with thee, to send a Shower, and a Sunblink, and again a Sunblink and Shower; therefore, keep thou silent to God, and murmur not, fret not, be not disquieted, be still, and be content, seeing all my Persecutors can do, either by Fraud or Force, can neither alter the nature or kind of my Sufferings, or add so much as a Degree thereto, neither lengthen out the Time of them for a Moment, *Mat. 10. 29. Exod. 12. 41.* All Pharaoh's Power could not keep *Israel* one Night longer in *Egypt*, therefore it is my Duty to study with *Paul*, *Phil. 4. 11, 12.* *Whatsoever state I am in, therewith to be content*; and say, should the Earth be forsaken, and the Rock be removed out of its Place for me, *Job 18, 4.* Should God alter the Course of his Providence for me, in which there is such an Efficacy as to carry all things to the proper and appointed End, with an irresistible Power: And that I may be found in him, not as having my own Righteousness, which is of the Law, but that which is through the Faith of Christ, the Righteousness which is of God by Faith, *Phil. 3. 9, 10.* And to resign up unto God my Will and Affections, to be disposed as he pleaseth; and to say with Fear, Humility, and Reverence, O Father, not my Will, but thine be done; and whether I live or die, I may be the Lords, that through his Mercy and Grace I may attain to his Approbation, viz. *Well done good and faithful Servant*; who hath hitherto sent his Angel and shut the Lions Mouth that they have not hurt me, *Dan. 6. 22.* and who hath so shut the Eyes of my Persecutors with a Sodomitish Blindness, that hitherto they

could not find out the way how to break in upon me ; and I hope he will in due time bring me out of the fiery Furnace, and shall not, through his Grace, suffer the Smell thereof to be found upon me ; and if not, yet I never held it to be my Duty to worship this rotten and stinking Idol of Jealousy, which these Nations have set up; *who have killed both the Lord Jesus and their own Prophets, and have persecuted us, 1 Thes. 2. 15. For thou, O Lord, hast not abhorred nor despised my Afflictions when I was afflicted, neither hast thou hid thy Face from me, but when I cry'd unto thee thou heardest me, Psal. 22. 24. Now, O Lord God, thou hast made the Heaven and the Earth by thy great Power and stretched-out Arm, Jer. 32. 17. Bring thou me at length to a happy Arrival within the Gates of the New Jerusalem, where no unclean Thing can come, that my Praise may be of thee in the great Congregation. And although, as Job said, Chap. 10. 17. That thou, O Lord, hast deliver'd me to the ungodly, and hast turn'd me over into the Hands of the wicked ; yet by this I know that thou, O Lord, favourest me, because mine Enemies do not triumph over me ; when I stand in Judgment thou, O Lord, didst not condemn ; and if it pleaseth thee thou wilt not leave me in their Hands, Psal. 41. 11. Psal. 37. 33. But canst bring up my Life from the Pit of Corruption, Jonah 2. 6. And seeing I have not prefer'd nor sought after mine own Things, but thy Honour and Glory, the Good, Liberty, and Safety of thy Church and People, although I may be now misconstrued by many ; yet at length I hope thou, Lord, will make my Light break forth as the Morning, and my Righteousness as the Noon-day, and that Shame and Darknes shall cover all who are Adversaries to my righteous Cause ; for thou, Lord, art the Shield of my Help, and the Sword of my Excellency,*

Excellency, and my Enemies shall be found Lyars,
Amen, yea, and Amen.

JAMES MITCHEL.

The Execution of THOMAS WHITEBREAD,
 WILLIAM HARCOURT, ANTHONY TUR-
 NER, JOHN GAVAN, and JOHN FENWICK,
at Tyburn, on Friday the 20th of June, 1679.

FRIDAY the 20th of June, being the Day
 appointed for the Execution of the Persons
 aforesaid, they were drawn on three Hurdles from
Newgate to the Place of Execution.

In the first Hurdle went *Thomas Whitebread*
 and *William Harcourt*; in the second, *Anthony Tur-*
ner and *John Gavan*; and in the third, *John Fen-*
wick. And being come to the Place of Execution
 they were all put into one Cart.

Then *Gavan* said, if God give us his Grace its
 no Matter where we die, at the Gallows, or else-
 where. The Executioner being fastning the Halters,

Gavan said, I hope you will be civil to dying
 Men.

Executioner. I will be civil to you.

Gavan. I hope they will give us leave to speak.

The last Speech of THOMAS WHITEBREAD.

I suppose it is expected I should speak some-
 thing to the Matter I am condemn'd for, and
 brought hither to suffer; it is no less than the
 contriving and plotting his Majesty's Death, and
 the Alteration of the Government of the Church
 and State. You all either know, or ought to know,
 I am to make my Appearance before the Face of
 Almighty God, and with all imaginable Certainty
 and Evidence to receive a final Judgment, for all
 the Thoughts, Words, and Actions of my whole
 Life.

Life. So that I am not now upon Terms to speak other than the Truth; and therefore, in his most holy Prefence, and as I hope for Mercy from his divine Majesty, I do declare to you here present, and to the whole World, that I go out of the World as innocent and as free from any Guilt of these Things, laid to my Charge in this Matter, as I came into the World from my Mother's Womb: And that I do renounce from my Heart, all manner of Pardons, Absolutions, Dispensations for Swearing, as Occasions or Interest may seem to require, which some have been pleas'd to lay to our Charge, as Matter of our Practice and Doctrine, but is a thing so unjustifiable and unlawful, that I believe, and ever did, that no Power on Earth can authorize me, or any Body, so to do. As for those who have most falsely accus'd me (as Time, either in this World or in the next, will make appear) I do heartily forgive them, and beg of God to grant them his holy Grace, that they may repent their unjust Proceedings against me; otherwise they will, in Conclusion, find they have done themselves more Wrong than I have suffer'd from them, though that has been a great deal. I pray God bless his Majesty both temporally and eternally, which has been my daily Prayer for him, and is all the Harm that I ever intended or imagin'd against him. And I do, with this my last Breath, in the sight of God declare, that I never did learn, or teach, nor believe, nor can, as a Catholick, believe, that it is lawful, upon any Occasion or Pretence whatsoever, to design or contrive the Death of his Majesty, or any Hurt to his Person; but on the contrary, all are bound to obey, defend, and preserve his sacred Person, to the utmost of their Power. And I do moreover declare, that this is the true and plain Sense of my Soul, in the sight
of

of him who knows the Secrets of my Heart, and as I hope to see his blessed Face, without any Equivocation, or mental Reservation. This is all I have to say concerning the Matter of my Condemnation; that which remains for me now to do, is to recommend my Soul into the Hands of my blessed Redeemer, by whose only Merits and Passion I hope for Salvation.

The last Speech of WILLIAM HARCOURT.

The Words of dying Persons have been always esteem'd as of greatest Authority; because utter'd then, when shortly after they are to be cited before the high Tribunal of Almighty God. This gives me hopes that mine may be look'd upon as such; therefore I do here declare, in the Presence of Almighty God, the whole Court of Heaven, and this numerous Assembly, that as I ever hope, by the Merits and Passion of my Lord and sweet Saviour Jesus Christ, for eternal Bliss, I am as innocent as the Child unborn of any thing laid to my Charge, and for which I am here to die.

Sheriff How. Or Sir *Edmundbury Godfry's* Death?

Harcourt. Or Sir *Edmundbury Godfry's* Death.

Sheriff How. Did not you write that Letter concerning the Dispatch of Sir *Edmundbury Godfry*?

Harcourt. No, Sir, these are the Words of a dying Man, I would not do it for a thousand Worlds.

Sheriff How. How have you liv'd?

Harcourt. I have liv'd like a Man of Repute all my Life, and never was before the Face of a Judge till my Tryal: No Man can accuse me. I have, from my Youth, been bred up in the Education of my Duty towards God and Man.

Harcourt. And I do utterly abhor and detest that abominable false Doctrine laid to our Charge,
that

that we can have Licences to commit Perjury, or any Sin to advantage our Cause, being expressly against the Doctrine of St Paul, saying, *Non sunt facienda mala, ut eveniant bona*; Evil is not to be done that Good may come thereof. And therefore we hold it in all Cases unlawful, to kill or murder any Person whatsoever, much more our lawful King, now reigning, whose personal and temporal Dominions we are ready to defend with our Lives and Fortunes, against any Opponent whatsoever, none excepted. I forgive all that have contriv'd my Death, and humbly beg Pardon of Almighty God for them. And I ask Pardon of all the World. I pray God bless his Majesty, and grant him a prosperous Reign. The like I wish to his Royal Consort, the best of Queens. I humbly beg the Prayers of all those who are in the Communion of the *Roman Church*, if any such be present.

The last Speech of ANTHONY TURNER.

Being now, good People, very near my End, and summon'd, by a violent Death, to appear before God's Tribunal, there to render an Account of all my Thoughts, Words, and Actions, before a just Judge, I conceive I am bound in Conscience to do myself that Justice, as to declare upon Oath my Innocence from the horrid Crime of Treason, with which I am falsely accused: And I esteem it a Duty I owe to Christian Charity, to publish to the World before my Death, all that I know in this Point, concerning those Catholicks I have conversed with since the first Noise of the Plot, desiring from the Bottom of my Heart that the whole Truth may appear, that Innocence may be clear'd, to the great Glory of God, and the Peace and Welfare of the
King

King and Country. As to myself, I call God to witness, that I was never in my whole Life present at any Consult or Meeting of the Jesuits, where any Oath of Secrecy was taken, or the Sacrament, as a Bond of Secrecy, either by me, or any one of them, to conceal any Plot against his Sacred Majesty; nor was I ever present at any Meeting or Consult of theirs, where any Proposal was made, or Resolve taken or signed, either by me or any of them, for taking away the Life of our dread Sovereign; an Impiety of such a Nature, that had I been present at any such Meeting, I should have been bound by the Laws of God, and by the Principles of my Religion (and by God's Grace would have acted accordingly) to have discovered such a devilish Treason to the Civil Magistrate, to the end they might have been brought to condign Punishment. I was so far, good People, from being in *September* last at a Consult of the Jesuits at *Tixall*, in Mr. *Ewer's* Chamber, that I vow to God, as I hope for Salvation, I never was so much as once that Year at *Tixall*, my Lord *Aston's* House. 'Tis true, I was at the Congregation of the Jesuits, held on the 24th of *April* was twelve-month; but in that Meeting, as I hope to be sav'd, we meddled not with State-Affairs, but only treated about the Concerns of our Province, which is usually done by us, without Offence to temporal Princes, every third Year, all the World over.

Sheriff How. You do only justify yourselves here. We will not believe a Word that you say. Spend your time in Prayer, and we will not think your time too long.

I am, good People, as free from the Treason I am accused of, as the Child that is unborn; and being innocent, I never accus'd myself in Confession of any thing that I am charg'd with. Certainly

tainly, if I had been conscious to myself of any Guilt in this kind, I should not so frankly and freely, as I did, of my own Accord, have presented myself before the King's most honourable Privy Council. As for those Catholicks which I have conversed with since the Noise of the Plot, I protest before God, in the Words of a dying Man, that I never heard any one of them, either Priest or Layman, express to me the least Knowledge of any Plot, that was then on foot amongst the Catholicks, against the King's most excellent Majesty, for the advancing the Catholick Religion. I die a *Roman* Catholick, and humbly beg the Prayers of such, for my happy Passage into a better Life. I have been of that Religion above thirty Years, and now give God Almighty infinite Thanks for calling me by his holy Grace to the Knowledge of this Truth, notwithstanding the Prejudice of my former Education. God of his infinite Goodness bless the King, and all the Royal Family, and grant his Majesty a prosperous Reign here, and a Crown of Glory hereafter. God in his Mercy forgive all those which have falsely accused me, and have had any Hand in my Death; I forgive them from the Bottom of my Heart, as I hope myself for Forgiveness at the Hands of God.

The last Speech of JOHN GAVAN.

Dearly beloved Countrymen,

I am come now to the last Scene of Mortality, to the Hour of my Death, an Hour which is the Horizon between Time and Eternity, an Hour which must either make me a Star to shine for ever in the Empire above, or a Firebrand to burn everlastingly amongst the damned Souls in Hell below; an Hour in which, if I deal sincerely, and
with

with a hearty Sorrow acknowledge my Crimes; I may hope for Mercy; but if I falsely deny them, I must expect nothing but eternal Damnation; and therefore, what I shall say in this great Hour, I hope you will believe. And now in this Hour I do solemnly swear, protest and vow, by all that is sacred in Heaven and on Earth; and as I hope to see the Face of God in Glory, that I am as innocent as the Child unborn of those treasonable Crimes, which Mr. *Oats* and Mr. *Dugdale* have sworn against me in my Tryal, and for which Sentence of Death was pronounc'd against me the Day after my Tryal. And that you may be assur'd that what I say is true, I do in the like manner protest, vow, and swear, as I hope to see the Face of God in Glory, that I do not, in what I say unto you, make use of any Equivocation, or mental Reservation, or material Prolocution, or any such like way to palliate Truth. Neither do I make use of any Dispensations from the Pope, or any Body else; or of any Oath of Secrecy, or any Absolution in Confession, or out of Confession, to deny the Truth; but I speak in the plain Sense which the Words bear; and if I do speak in any other Sense, to palliate or hide the Truth, I wish with all my Soul that God may exclude me from his heavenly Glory, and condemn me to the lowest Place of Hell-Fire: And so much to that Point.

And now, dear Country-men, in the second place, I do confess and own to the whole World, that I am a *Roman Catholick*, and a Priest, and one of that sort of Priests called *Jesuits*; and now because they are so falsely charged for holding King-killing Doctrine, I think it my Duty to protest to you with my last dying Words, that neither I in particular, nor the *Jesuits* in general, hold any such Opinion, but utterly abhor and detest it: And I
assure

assure you, that amongst the vast Numbers of Authors, which among the *Jesuits* have printed Philosophy, Divinity, Cases, or Sermons, there is not one, to the best of my Knowledge, that allows of King-killing Doctrine, or holds this Position, That it is lawful for a private Person to kill a King, although an Heretick, although a Pagan, although a Tyrant : There is, I say, not one *Jesuit* that holds this, except *Mariana* the *Spanish* Jesuit, and he defends it not absolutely, but only problematically, for which his Book was called in, and that Opinion expunged and censur'd. And is it not a sad thing, that for the Rashness of one single Man, whilst the rest cry out against him, and hold the contrary, that a whole Religious Order should be sentenc'd ? But I have not Time to discuss this Point at large, and therefore I refer you all to a Royal Author, I mean the wise and victorious King *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, the Royal Grandfather of our present gracious King, in a publick Oration which he pronounced, in Defence of the *Jesuits*, amongst other things, declaring, that he was very well satisfied with the *Jesuits* Doctrine concerning Kings, as being conformable to the best Doctors in the Church. But why do I relate the Testimony of one single Prince, when the whole Catholick World is the *Jesuits* Advocate ? Therein chiefly *Germany*, *France*, *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Flanders*, trust the Education of their Youth to 'em in a very great Measure ; they trust their own Souls to be govern'd by 'em, in the Administration of the Sacraments. And can yom imagin so many great Kings and Princes, and so many wise States should do, or permit this to be done in their Kingdoms, if the *Jesuits* were Men of such damnable Principles as they are now taken for in *England* ?

In the third place, dear Country-men, I do protest, that as I never in my Life did machine, or contrive

contrive either the Deposition or Death of the King, so now at my Death, I do heartily desire of God to grant him a quiet and happy Reign upon Earth, and an everlasting Crown in Heaven. For the Judges also, and the Jury, and all those that were any ways concern'd, either in my Tryal, Accusation, or Condemnation, I do humbly ask Pardon of God, to grant them both temporal and eternal Happiness. And as for Mr. *Oates* and Mr. *Dugdale*, I call God to witness, they by false Oaths have brought me to this untimely End. I heartily forgive them, because God commands me so to do; and I beg of God for his infinite Mercy to grant them true Sorrow and Repentance in this World, that they may be capable of eternal Happiness in the next. And having discharged my Duty towards my self, and my own Innocence towards my Order, and its Doctrine to my Neighbour, and the World, I have nothing else to do now, my Great God, but to cast my self into the Arms of your Mercy. I believe you are One divine Essence and Three divine Persons; I believe the Second Person of the Trinity became Man to redeem me: and I believe you are an eternal Rewarder of the Good, and an eternal Chastiser of the Bad. In fine, I believe all you have reveal'd for your own infinite Veracity; I hope in you above all things, for your infinite Fidelity; and I love you above all things for your infinite Beauty and Goodness; and I am heartily sorry that ever I offended so great a God with my whole Heart: I am contented to undergo an ignominious Death for the Love of you, my dear Jesu, seeing you have been pleased to undergo an ignominious Death for the Love of me.

The last Speech of JOHN FENWICK.

GOOD People, I suppose you expect I should say something as to the Crime I am condemn'd for, and either acknowledge my Guilt, or assert my Innocency. I do therefore declare before God and the whole World, and call God to witness, that what I say is true, that I am innocent of what is laid to my Charge of Plotting the King's Death, and endeavouring to subvert the Government, and bring in a foreign Power, as the Child unborn; and that I know nothing of it, but what I have learnt from Mr. *Oates* and his Companions, and what comes originally from them.

Sheriff How. If you can make a good Conclusion to your own Life, it will do well; consider if your Letters did not agree with the Evidence, that's another matter.

Fenwick. I assure you, I do renounce all Treason from my very Heart. I have always, and ever shall disown the Opinion of such devilish Practices as these are of King-killing. If I speak not the whole Frame of my Heart, I wish God may exclude me from his Glory.

Sher. How. Those that murdered Sir *Edmund-bury-Godfrey* said as you do.

Fenwick. As for Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, I protest before God, I know nothing of it: I never saw the Man in my Life.

Sher. How. For my part, I am of Opinion you had a Hand in it.

Fenwick. Now that I am a dying Man, do you think I would go and damn my Soul?

Sher. How. I wish you all the Good I can, but I'll assure you, I believe never a Word you say.

Fenwick. I pray for his Majesty every day, and wish him all Happiness with all my Heart.

Also

Also I do with all my Soul pardon all my Accusers. If the Judge or Jury did any thing amiss, I pardon them with all my Soul, and all Persons directly or indirectly. I am very willing and ready to suffer this Death. I pray God pardon me my Sins, and save my Soul.

And as to what is said, and commonly believ'd, of *Roman Catholicks*, that they are not to be believ'd or trusted, because they can have Dispensations for Lying, Perjury, killing Kings, and other the most enormous Crimes; I do utterly renounce all such Pardons and Dispensations, and withal declare, That it is a most wicked and malicious Calumny cast upon Catholicks, who do All, with all their Hearts and Souls, hate and detest all such wicked and damnable Practices; and in the Words of a dying Man, and as I hope for Mercy at the Hands of God, before whom I must shortly appear and give an Account of all my Actions, I do again declare, That what I have said is true; and I hope Christian Charity will not let you think, that by the last Act of my Life, I would cast away my Soul, by sealing up my last Breath with a damnable Lye.

Then they were at their private Devotions for about an Hour.

And Mr. Sheriff *How* spake to them; Pray aloud Gentlemen, that we may join with you; we shall do you no hurt, if we do you no good. Are you asham'd of your Prayers? Then he spake to Mr. *Gavan*, and said, It is reported you did preach at the *Quakers* Meeting.

Gavan. To which he made answer, No, Sir, I never preach'd there in my Life.

After they had ended their Devotions, the Executioner pulled their Caps over their Faces, and went down and drew away the Cart, and they were all hanged together 'till they were

dead, and then cut down and quarter'd, and their Bodies disposed of according to his Majesty's Command.

*The SPEECH of RICHARD LANGHORN, Esq;
at his Execution, July 14. 1679. being left in Writing by him under his own Hand.*

IN regard I could not foresee whether I should be permitted to speak at my Death, so as to make a publick Declaration of my Innocency and Loyalty, as a Christian ought to do; considering likewise, that if it should be permitted unto me, it would be more advisable for me rather to prepare beforehand, and set down in Writing the very Words in which I should make my Declaration, than to trust my Memory with them; to the end that the same may be well consider'd of, and digested by me, and that all Mistakes might be prevented, as far as may be: I say, in regard of this, I have in the present Paper reduced what I have to declare, as to my Innocence and Loyalty. And 'tis in these following Words:

I do solemnly and sincerely, in the Presence of Almighty God, profess, testify, and declare, as followeth; that is to say,

1. That I do, with my Heart and Soul, believe and own my most gracious Sovereign Lord, the King's Majesty, King *Charles* the Second, to be my true and lawful Sovereign, Prince, and King, in the same Sense and Latitude, to all Intents and Purposes, as in the Oath commonly called *The Oath of Allegiance*, His said Majesty is expressed to be King of this Realm of *England*.

2. That I do in my Soul believe, that neither the Pope, nor any Prince, Potentate, or foreign Authority, nor the People of *England*, nor any Authority out of this Kingdom, or within the
same,

same, hath or have any Right to dispossess his said Majesty of the Crown or Government of *England*, or to depose him therefrom, for any Cause or pretended Cause whatsoever, or to give Licence to me, or to any other of his said Majesty's Subjects whatsoever, to bear Arms against his said Majesty, or to take away his Life, or to do him any bodily Harm, or to disturb the Government of this Kingdom, as the same is now established by Law, or to alter, or go about to alter the said Government, or the Religion now established in *England*, by any way of Force.

3. That I neither am, nor ever was, at any time or times, guilty, so much as in my most secret Thoughts, of any Treason, or Misprision of Treason whatsoever.

4. That I did not in the Month of *November*, or at any other time or times whatsoever, say unto Mr. *Oates*, or unto any other Person or Persons whatsoever, in relation to my Sons in *Spain*, or either of them, or in relation to any other Person or Persons whatsoever, that if they did continue in the World, (as Secular Priests, or otherwise) they should suddenly have great Promotions in *England*, for that things would not last long in the Posture wherein they then were ; nor did I ever say any Words to that or the like effect to any Person or Persons whatsoever.

5. That I did never in all my Life-time write any Letter, or other thing whatsoever, unto, or receive any Letter or other thing, from Father *Le Chaise*, or any *French* Jesuite whatsoever, or from Father *Anderton*, or Cardinal *Barbarino*, or any other Cardinal ; nor did I ever see any Letter, or the Copy of any Letter, or other Paper, or other thing, written or purporting to be written unto the said *Le Chaise*, or unto the said Father *Anderton*, or to the said Cardinal *Barbarino*, by a-

ny Person or Persons whatsoever, other than the printed Letters, printed in the Narrative of the Tryal of Mr. *Edward Coleman*, lately executed, which I never saw otherwise than in the said printed Narrative; nor did I ever hear any mention made by any Person whatsoever of the Name of *Le Chaise*, or Father *Le Chaise*, before I read the said printed Narrative.

6. That I did never in all my Life-time make any Entry or Entries, into any Book or Books, or take, or make, or write, or cause to be written into any Book or Books, or otherwise any Letter or Letters, or any Copy or Copies of any Letter or Letters, written by the said *Edward Coleman*, to any Person or Persons whatsoever.

7. That I did never in all my Life-time enter or register into any Book or Books, Paper or Papers whatsoever, or take, or make, or write, or cause to be written, any Copy or Copies of any Act or Acts, Consult or Consults, Determination or Determinations, Order or Orders, Resolve or Resolves, or other Matter or Thing, at any time made, determined, resolved, passed, decreed or agitated, at any Congregation or Congregations, Consult or Consults, Chapter or Chapters, Assembly or Assemblies, of the Society or Order of the *Jesuits*, or of any other religious Order whatsoever; nor did I ever see, read, or heard read, nor did any Person or Persons, at any time whatsoever, ever communicate unto me any such Act, Consult, Determination, Order, Resolve, Matter or Thing whatsoever.

8. That I did never in all my Life-time, to my Knowledge, Belief, or Remembrance, see or speak with Mr. *Bedloe*, who gave Evidence against me at my Tryal, until I saw him in that Court wherein he gave Evidence against me.

9. That

9. That after the Month of *November*, which was in the Year of our Lord 1677. I did never see or speak with Mr. *Titus Oates* before-named, until I saw him in the same Court where he gave Evidence against me at my Tryal.

10. That I did never see, in all my Life-time, to my Knowledge, Belief, or Remembrance, any Commission or Commissions, Patent or Patents, Grant or Grants, Order or Orders, Instrument or Instruments, Writing or Writings, or other Matter or Thing whatsoever, under, or pretended to be under the Hand and Seal, or the Hand or the Seal of *Johannes Paulus de Oliva*, or any other General of the *Jesuits* whatsoever, other than the Paper or Instrument produced and shewed unto me in the said Court at my Tryal, which whether it was sign'd or seal'd by the said *de Oliva*, I do not know.

11. That I did never in all my Life-time write, or cause or procure to be written, any Treasonable Letter or Letters whatsoever, or any thing which was or is Treason or treasonable, in any Letter or Letters, Book or Books, Paper or Papers, or otherwise howsoever.

12. That I believe, that if I did know, or should know of any Treason or treasonable Design, that was or is intended, or should be intended against his said Majesty, or the Government of this his Majesty's Kingdom, or for the Alteration by Force, Advice, or otherwise, of the said Government, or of the Religion now establish'd in this Kingdom, and should conceal and not discover the same unto his said Majesty, or his said Majesty's Council or Ministers, or some of them; that such Concealment would be in me a Sin unto Death, and eternal Damnation.

13. That I do believe, that it is no ways lawful for me to lye, or speak any thing which I know to be untrue; or to commit any Sin, or do any

Evil, that Good may come of it. And that it is not in the Power of any Priest, or of the Pope, or of God himself, to give me a Licence to lye, or to speak any thing which I know to be untrue; because every such Lye would be a Sin against Truth: And Almighty God, who is perfect Truth, cannot give me a Licence to commit a Sin against his own Essence.

And I do solemnly, in the Presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, That as I hope for Salvation, and expect any Benefit by the Blood and Passion of my dearest Saviour Jesus Christ, I do make this Declaration and Protestation, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary Sense of the Words, wherein the same stands written, as they are commonly understood by *English* Protestants, and the Courts of Justice of *England*, without any Evasion or Equivocation, or Delusion, or mental Reservation whatsoever: And without any Dispensation, or Pardon, or Absolution already granted to me, for this or any other Purpose, by the Pope, or any other Power, Authority, or Person whatsoever; or, without any Hope, Expectation or Desire of any such Dispensation; and without thinking or believing that I am or can be acquitted before God or Man, or absolved of this Declaration, or any part thereof, although the Pope, or any other Person or Persons, or Power or Authority whatsoever, should dispense with, or take upon him or them to dispense with, or annul the same, or declare that it was, or is, or ought to be null or void in part, or in the whole, from the Beginning, or otherwise howsoever.

Having made this Declaration and Protestation in the most plain Terms that I can possibly imagine, to express my sincere Loyalty and Innocency, and the clear Intention of my Soul, I leave it to the Judgments of all good and charitable Persons, whether

whether they will believe what is here in this manner affirm'd and sworn by me in my present Circumstances, or what is sworn by my Accusers.

I do now farther declare, That I die a Member (tho' an unworthy one) of that holy Catholick and Apostolick Church of Christ, mention'd in the Three holy and publick Creeds, of which Church our Lord Jesus Christ is the invisible Head of Influence, to illuminate, guide, protect, and govern it by his holy Spirit and Grace; and of which Church the Bishop of *Rome*, as the Successor of *St. Peter*, the Prince of the Apostles, is the visible Head of Government and Unity.

I take it to be clear, that my Religion is the sole Cause which moved my Accusers to charge me with the Crime, for which, upon their Evidence, I am adjudg'd to die; and that my being of that Religion, which I here profess, was the only Ground which could give them any Hope to be believed, or which could move my Jury to believe the Evidence of such Men.

I have had not only a Pardon, but also great Advantages, as to Preferments, and Estates, offer'd unto me, since this Judgment was against me, in case I would have forsaken my Religion, and own'd myself guilty of the Crime charged against me, and charged the same Crimes upon others: But blessed be my God, who by his Grace hath preserv'd me from yielding to those Temptations, and strengthen'd me rather to choose this Death, than to stain my Soul with Sin, and to charge others, against Truth, with Crimes, of which I do not know that any Person is guilty.

Having said what concerns me to say as to myself, I now humbly beseech God to bless the King's Majesty with all temporal and eternal Blessings, and to preserve him and his Government from all Treasons and Traitors whatsoever; and that his Majesty

Majesty may never fall into such Hands, as his Royal Father, of glorious Memory, fell into.

I also humbly beseech thee (O God) to give true Repentance and Pardon to all my Enemies, and most particularly to the said Mr. *Oates* and Mr. *Bedloe*, and to all who have been any ways accessary to the taking away of my Life, and the shedding of my innocent Blood, or to the preventing the King's Mercy from being extended unto me; and likewise to all those who rejoyced at the Judgment given against me, or at the Execution of the said Judgment; and to all those who are or shall be so unchristianly uncharitable, as to disbelieve, and to refuse to give credit unto my now Protestations.

And I beseech thee (O my God) to bless this whole Nation, and not to lay the Guilt of my Blood unto the Charge of this Nation, or of any other particular Person or Persons of this Nation. Unite all (O my God) unto thee and thy Church, by true Faith, Hope, and Charity, for thy Mercies sake.

And for all those who have shew'd Charity to me, I humbly beg (O my Jesus) that thou wilt reward them with all Blessings, both temporal and eternal.

13. July
1679.

R. LANGHORN.

The last Speech of Mr. DAVID LEWIS, Priest of the Society of Jesus, who was executed as a Priest only, at Uske, in Monmouth-shire, on the 27th Day of August, 1679.

HERE is a numerous Assembly, I see, the great Saviour of the World save every Soul of you all; I believe you are here met not only to see a Fellow-Native die, but also with Expectation to hear a dying Fellow-Native speak. If you
expected

expected it not, at least I intended it, I hope the Favour will not be denied me, it being a Favour so freely granted to several late dying Persons in London it self; I shall endeavour to speak inoffensively; I hope the same Favour will not be denied me.

Let none of you suffer as a Murderer or a Thief, but if as a Christian, let him not be ashamed: St. Peter's Words, 1 Pet. 4. 15, 16. I hope by God's holy Spirit now whisper'd to my Memory, and that to my abundant Consolation; for I suffer not as a Murderer, Thief, or such like Malefactor, but as a Christian, and therefore am not ashamed.

I distinguish two sorts of Life on Earth, Life-moral, and Life-natural; Life-moral is that by which we live with good Repute in the Esteem of other Men of Integrity; Life-natural is that by which we breath; in the first sort or kind, I thank God I have suffer'd lately, and exceedingly, when maliciously, falsely, and most injuriously, I was branded for a publick Cheat, in Pamphlet, in Ballad, on Stage, and that in the Head City of the Kingdom, yea, and over the whole Nation, to the huge and great Detriment of my good Name, which I always was as tender of, as the other I am now quitting.

The pamphletical Story (believe my dying Words) had no Truth in it, neither to Substance nor Circumstance of the thing; a Story so false, that I could have easily defied the Face that had attempted to justify it to my Face; so fordid a Business, a Story so ridiculous, that I wonder how any sober Christian, at least who knew me, could as much as incline to believe so open an Improbability; who that Protestant young Man there mention'd was, I know not; who that Popish young Woman, who the Father dead a Year and a half before, in what County, what Parish, were all transacted

transacted, I know not, none of all these there particularized; and when in the Face of the Country at last Lent-Assizes, I vindicated my Innocency herein, to the Satisfaction of the then Judge himself, why appear'd not there then some one to make good the Charge, and disable my Defence? But none of this offer'd; a plain Demonstration to all candid Minds, the Whole was a meer Fiction of some malicious Person against me: God forgive them or him, I heartily do. How forward my Endeavours always have been to my power to relieve the Poor, and not directly to defraud them, impartial Neighbours that know me can tell you; besides this, during my nine Months Imprisonment, several foul and false Aspersions were cast out against me, and that by those unto whom, for full Thirty Years, I had been charitably serviceable: God forgive them, I heartily do; yet notwithstanding all these Calumniation, I hope I still retain the Character of an honest Man amongst Gentlemen of Worth, with whom I conversed, and with all Neighbours of Honesty, with and amongst whom I lived.

And now I am parting with the other Life by which I breath, behold that within these few Moments of Time is to unbreath me; but why thus sledg'd to this Country-Tyburn? Why this so untimely Death of mine? Have Patience and I'll tell you; not for any plotting, I assure you; and what I shall now say as to that, God is my Witness, I shall speak without any Equivocation, mental Reservation, or Palliation of Truth whatsoever.

By all that is sacred in Heaven and Earth, I here solemnly protest, that I am as innocent from any Plot whatever against his Majesty's Person or Government, as the Infant that left the Mother's Womb but Yesterday; neither did I ever hear or
know

know any thing directly or indirectly of any such Plot, 'till publick Fame had spread it over the Country between *Michaelmas* and *All-Saints Day* last: This is true, as God shall judge and save my Soul; neither was there any Guilt of any such black Crime found in me by Mr. *Oates*, Mr. *Bedloe*, Mr. *Dugdale*, and Mr. *Prance*, when by them I was strictly examin'd on that Point, last *May*, in *Newgate, London*; nay, had I had the least Knowledge or Hint of such Plot, I had been as zealously nimble in the Discovery of it, as any the most loyal Subject his Majesty hath in his Three Kingdoms; wherefore, when I am dead and gone, if some Malevolent give out, I lose my Life for plotting, by Charity strive to disingage him of his Mistake; do that Right to my dead Ashes.

I was never taught that Doctrine of King-killing, from my Soul I detest and abhor it as execrable, and directly opposite to the Principles of the Religion I profess; what that is, you shall know by-and-by; it being the positive Definition of the Council of *Constance*, That it is damnable for any Subject, or private Person, or any Subjects in Council joined, to murder his or their lawful King or Prince, or use any publick or clandestine Conspiracy against him, tho' the said King or Prince were a Turk, Apostate, Persecutor, yea, or a Tyrant in Government: Never tell me of *Clement* the Murderer of *Henry* the Third of *France*; never tell me of *Ravilliac*, Murderer of *Henry* the Fourth of *France*; they did so, but wickedly they did so, and for it they were punish'd to Severity, as Malefactors; and for it, to this very Day, are stigmatiz'd by all *Roman* Catholicks for very Miscreants and Villains. I hope you will not charge the whole *Roman* Catholick Body with the Villanies of some few Desperadoes: By that Rule all Christianity must be answerable for the Treason of
Judas;

Judas ; for my part, I always lov'd my King, I always honour'd his Person, and I daily pray'd for his Prosperity ; and now, with all unfeign'd Cordiality, I say it, God bless my gracious King and lawful Prince, *Charles II*, King of *England*, and Prince of *Wales*, God bless him temporally and eternally, God preserve him from all his real Enemies, God direct him in all his Councils, that may tend to the greater Glory of the same great God ; and whatever late Plot hath been, or is, the Father of Lights bring it to Light, the Contrivers of it, and the Actors in it, that such may be brought to their condign Punishment, and Innocence preserved.

But why again this untimely Death ? My Religion is the *Roman* Catholick Religion, in it I have liv'd above these forty Years, in it I now die, and so fixedly die, that if all the good things in this World were offered me to renounce it, all should not move me one Hair's Breadth from my *Roman* Catholick Faith ; a *Roman* Catholick I am, a *Roman* Catholick Priest I am, a *Roman* Catholick Priest of that religious Order call'd *The Society of Jesus* I am ; and I bless God who first call'd me ; and I bless the Hour in which I was first call'd both unto Faith and Function.

Please now to observe, I was condemn'd for reading Mass, hearing Confessions, administering the Sacraments, anointing the Sick, Christning, Marrying, Preaching : As for reading the Mass, it was the old, and still is, the accustomed and laudable Liturgy of the Holy Church ; and all the other Acts, which are Acts of Religion, tending to the Worship of God ; and for this dying, I die for Religion : Moreover know, that when last *May* I was in *London*, under Examination concerning the Plot, a prime Examinant told me, that to save my Life and increase my Fortunes,
I must

I must make some Discovery of the Plot, or conform ; discover Plot I could not, for I knew of none ; conform I would not, because it was against my Conscience ; then by Consequence I must die, and so now dying, I die for Conscience and Religion ; and dying upon such good Scores, as far as humane Frailty permits, I die with Alacrity interior and exterior ; from the abundance of the Heart, let not only Mouths, but Faces also speak.

Here, methinks, I feel Flesh and Blood ready to burst into loud Cries, Tooth for Tooth, Eye for Eye, Blood for Blood, Life for Life ; No, cryeth holy Gospel, *Forgive and you shall be forgiven ; pray for those that persecute you ; love your Enemies ;* and I profess myself a Child of the Gospel, and the Gospel I obey.

Whomever, present or absent, I have ever offended, I humbly desire them to forgive me ; as for my Enemies, had I as many Hearts as I have Fingers, with all those Hearts would I forgive my Enemies, at leastwise, with all that single Heart I have, I freely forgive them all, my Neighbours that betray'd me, the Persons that took me, the Justices that committed me, the Witnesses that prov'd against me, the Jury that found me, the Judge that condemn'd me, and others whoever, that out of Malice or Zeal, covertly or openly, have been contributive to my Condemnation ; but singularly and especially, I forgive my capital Persecutor, who hath been so long thirsting after my Blood ; from my Soul I forgive him, and wish his Soul so well, that were it in my Power, I would seat him a Seraphin in Heaven, and I pray for them in the Language of glorious St. Stephen the Protomartyr ; *Lord, lay not this Sin unto them ;* or better yet, in the Stile of our great Master, Christ himself, *Father forgive them, they know not what they do.*

And

And with Reason I love them also ; for though they have done themselves a vast Soul-prejudice, yet they have done me an incomparable Favour, which I shall eternally acknowledge ; but chiefly I love them for his sake, who said, *Love your Enemies* ; and in Testimony of my Love, I wish them, and it is the best of Wishes, from the Center of my Soul, I wish them a good Eternity. O Eternity, Eternity ! How momentanean are the Glories, Riches, and Pleasures of this World ? and how desirable art thou, endless Eternity ?

And for my said Enemies attaining thereunto, I humbly beseech God to give them the Grace of true Repentance, before they and this World part.

Next to my Enemies, give me leave to lift up my Eyes, Hands, and Heart to Heaven, and drop some few Words of Advice unto, and for my Friends, as well those present as absent. Friends, *Fear God, Honour your King*, be firm in your Faith, avoid mortal Sin, by frequenting the Sacraments of holy Church, patiently bear your Persecutions and Afflictions, forgive your Enemies, your Sufferings are great ; I say, be firm in your Faith to the End, yea, even to Death, then shall ye heap unto yourselves celestial Treasures in the heavenly *Jerusalem*, where no Thief robbeth, no Moth eateth, and no Rust consumeth ; and have that blessed Saying of the blessed St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, always in your Memory, which I heartily recommend unto you, viz. *Let none of you suffer as a Murderer or a Thief, but if as a Christian let him not be ashamed, but glorify God in his Name.*

Now it is high time I make my Addresses to Heaven, and supplicate the Divine Goodness in my own Behalf, by some few short and cordial Ejaculations of Prayers.

His Prayers being ended he was turn'd off.

The

*The Execution of the Lord Viscount STAFFORD;
the 29th Day of December, 1680.*

WHEN the Hour appointed for his Death drew near, he expected, with some Impatience, the Arrival of Mr. Lieutenant, telling his Friends that were about him, he ought not to hasten his own Death, yet he thought the time long till they came for him. A Gentleman then with him in his Chamber, put him in mind that it was a cold Day, and that his Lordship would do well to put on a Cloak or Coat to keep him warm; he answer'd he would; for (said he) I may, perhaps, shake for Cold, but I trust in God, never for Fear. After some time spent in spiritual Discourses; at length, about ten a Clock, Word was brought him, that Mr. Lieutenant waited for him below, upon which he sweetly saluted his Friends, bidding them not grieve for him, for this was the happiest Day of all his Life; then he immediately went down, and walk'd along by the Lieutenant's Chair (who had the Gout) through a Lane of Soldiers, to the Bars without the Tower. There the Lieutenant deliver'd him to the Sheriffs, and they from thence guarded him to the Scaffold erected on *Tower-hill*. All the way as he passed, several thousands of People crowded to see him; many civilly saluted him; and few there were, amongst that vast Number, whose Hearts were not touch'd and mollify'd with Compassion for him. Having mounted the Scaffold, there appear'd in his Countenance such an unusual Vivacity, such a Cheerfulness, such a Confidence, such a Candor, as if the Innocence of his Soul had shined through his Body. Nothing of that mortal Paleness, nothing of those Reluctances, Convulsions, and Agonies, incident to Persons in

his Condition, could in the least be perceiv'd in him. He look'd Death in the Face with so undaunted a Resolution, as gave many occasion to say, Grace had left in him no Resentments of Nature. After a short pause, viewing the People, and finding them attentive to what he should say, he stept to one Side of the Scaffold, and with a graceful Air, and intelligible Voice, pronounc'd his last Speech as follows.

My Lord's last Speech.

By the Permission of Almighty God, I am this Day brought hither to suffer Death, as if I were guilty of High-Treason. I do most truly, in the Presence of the eternal, omnipotent, and all-knowing God, protest upon my Salvation, that I am as innocent as it is possible for any Man to be, so much as in a Thought, of the Crimes laid to my Charge.

I acknowledge it to be a particular Grace and Favour of the Holy Trinity, to have given me this long time to prepare myself for Eternity. I have not made so good use of that Grace as I ought to have done, partly by my not having so well recollected myself as I might have done, and partly, because not only my Friends, but my Wife and Children have for several Days been forbidden to see me, but in the Presence of one of my Warders. This hath been a great Trouble and Distraction unto me, but I hope God of his infinite Mercy will pardon my Defects, and accept of my good Intentions.

Since my long Imprisonment, I have consider'd often what could be the original Cause of my being thus accused, since I knew myself not culpable, so much as in a Thought; and I cannot believe it to be upon any other Account than my
being

being of the Church of *Rome*. I have no reason to be ashamed of my Religion, for it teacheth nothing but the right Worship of God, Obedience to the King, and due Subordination to the temporal Laws of the Kingdom. And I do submit to all Articles of Faith believed and taught in the Catholick Church, believing them to be most consonant to the Word of God. And whereas it hath so much and often been objected, that the Church holds that Sovereign Princes, excommunicated by the Pope, may, by their Subjects, be depos'd or murder'd: As to the Murder of Princes, I have been taught as a Matter of Faith in the Catholick Church, that such Doctrine is diabolical, horrid, detestable, and contrary to the Law of God, Nature, and Nations; and as such from my Heart I renounce and abominate it. As for the Doctrine of deposing Princes, I know some Divines of the Catholick Church hold it; but as Able and Learned as they have written against it: But it was not pretended to be the Doctrine of the Church, that is, any Point of Catholick Faith: Wherefore I do here in my Conscience declare, that it is my true and real Judgment, that the same Doctrine of deposing Kings, is contrary to the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, injurious to Sovereign Power, and consequently would be in me or any other of his Majesty's Subjects, impious and damnable. I believe and profess, that there is one God, one Saviour, one Holy Catholick Church, of which, through the Mercy, Grace, and Goodness of God, I die a Member.

To my great and unspeakable Grief, I have offended God in many things, by many great Offences; but I give him most humble Thanks, not in any of those Crimes of which I was accused.

All the Members of either House having Liberty to propose in the House what they think fit for the Good of the Kingdom ; accordingly I proposed what I thought fit ; the House is Judge of the Fitness or Unfitness of it ; and I think I never said any thing that was unfitting there, or contrary to the Law and Use of Parliament ; for certainly if I had, the Lords would (as they might) have punish'd me : So I am not culpable before God or Man.

It is much reported of Indulgences, Dispensations, and Pardons, to murder, rebel, lie, forswear, and commit such other Crimes held and given in the Church ; I do here profess, in the Presence of God, I never learnt, believ'd, or practis'd any such Thing, but the contrary ; and I speak this without any Equivocation or Reservation whatsoever : And certainly, were I guilty, either myself, or knew of any one that were guilty, whosoever that were so, of any of those Crimes of which I am accused, I were not only the greatest Fool imaginable, but a perfect mad Man, and as wicked as any of those that so falsely have accus'd me, if I should not discover any ill Design I knew in any kind, and so upon Discovery save my Life, I have so often had so fair Occasions proposed unto me, and so am guilty of Self-Murder, which is a most grievous and heinous Sin ; and though I was last impeach'd at the Lord's Bar, yet I have great Grounds to believe, that I was first brought to Tryal, on the Belief, that, to save my Life, I would make some great Discovery ; and truly so I would, had I known any such thing of any ill Design, or illegal dangerous Plot, either of myself, or any other Person whatsoever, without any Exception. But had I a thousand Lives, I would lose them all, rather than falsely accuse either myself, or any other

other whatsoever. And if I had known of any Treason, and should thus deny it, as I do now upon my Salvation at this time, I should have no Hope of Salvation, which now I have, through the Merits of Christ Jesus.

I do beseech God to bless his Majesty, who is my lawful King and Sovereign, whom I was always, by all Laws Humane and Divine, bound to obey; and I am sure that no Power upon Earth, either singly or all together, can legally allow me, or any Body else, to lift up a Hand against him, or his legal Authority. I do hold that the Constitution of the Government of this Kingdom is the only way to continue Peace and Quietness, which God long continue.

Next to Treason I hold Murder in abhorrence, and have ever done and do; and I do sincerely profess, that if I could at this time free myself immediately, and establish what Religion I would, and what Government I would, and make myself as great as I could wish, and all by the Death of one of these Fellows, that by their Perjuries have brought me to the Place where I am, I so much abhor to be the Cause of any Man's Death, that I would not any way be the Cause of their Murder; how much less would I endeavour the Assassination of his Majesty, whom I hold to be as gracious a King as ever this or any other Nation had, and under whom the People may enjoy their Liberties, as much as ever any did; and if it please God to grant him Life and Happiness, according as I have always wish'd and pray'd for, I am morally persuaded, that he, and all his Dominions, will be as happy and prosperous as ever People were, which I beseech God grant.

I do most humbly ask Pardon of the Almighty and All-merciful God, for all the great Offences have committed against his divine Majesty;

and I know he would not have the Death and Confusion of a Sinner, but that he may repent and live; in that Assurance I hope, knowing he never despiseth a contrite Heart; and though I have not so feeling a Contrition as I would, yet I have it as well as I can; and I doubt not but that God will accept of the good Will.

I do desire that all People will forgive me any Injury that I have done them in any thing, either Wilfully or by Chance; and I do heartily forgive all People in this World that have injur'd me; I forgive even those perjur'd Men, that so falsely have brought me hither by their Perjuries.

I do now upon my Death and Salvation aver, that I never spoke one Word either to *Oates* or *Turbervil*, or, to my Knowledge, ever saw them until my Tryal; And for *Dugdale*, I never spoke unto him of any thing but about a Foot-boy, or Foot-man, or Foot-race; and never was then alone with him: All the Punishment that I wish them, is, that they may repent and acknowledge the Wrong that they have done me; then it will appear how innocent I am: God forgive them! I have a great Confidence that it will please Almighty God, and that he will in a short time bring Truth to Light; then you and all the World will see and know what Injury they have done me.

I hope that I have made it appear that I have some Conscience, for if I had none, certainly I would have sav'd my Life, by acknowledging myself guilty, which I could have done, though I know I am not in the least guilty. And I having some Conscience make very ill use of it, for I throw myself into eternal Pain, by thus plainly and constantly denying thus at my Death the Knowledge of what I am accus'd of in the least.

I have

I have said thus much in discharge of my Conscience, and do aver upon my Salvation, what I have said to be really true.

I shall say little of my Tryal; and whether it were all according to the known Law, I am too much a Party to say much of it; if it were not so, God forgive him or them that were the Cause of it.

My Judges were all Persons of Honour, who were all as much bound to judge rightly, as if they had been upon Oath upon what was legally prov'd; and not to vote but according as in their Consciences they were satisfied; and if any of them did otherwise, upon any Account whatsoever, I beseech God forgive them, I do heartily.

I shall end with my hearty Prayers for the Happiness of his Majesty, that he may enjoy all Happiness in this World and the World to come, and govern his People according to the Laws of God; and that the People may be sensible what a Blessing God hath so miraculously given them, and obey him as they ought. I ask Pardon with a prostrate Heart of Almighty God, for all the great Offences that I have committed against his Divine Majesty, and hope, through the Merits and Passion of Christ Jesus, to obtain everlasting Happiness, into whose Hands I commit my Spirit, asking Pardon of every Person that I have done any Wrong unto; I do freely forgive all that have any ways wronged me; I do, with all the Devotion and Repentance that I can, humbly invoke the Mercy of our blessed Saviour.

I beseech God not to revenge my innocent Blood upon the Nation, or on those that were the Cause of it, with my last Breath. I do with my last Breath truly assert my Innocency, and

hope the omnipotent all-seeing just God will deal with me accordingly.

His Speech being ended, he deliver'd several written Copies of it to the Sheriffs, and others near him (one of which, writ with his own Hand, he sent to the King) then he return'd to the Middle of the Scaffold, where, encompassed by his Catholick Friends, he kneeled down, and reverently making the Sign of the Cross, prayed aloud with exceeding Devotion.

Having ended his Prayer, and remaining still on his Knees, he again protested his Innocence with all the Asseverations a dying Christian is capable to make. Then rising up, he a second time saluted the People, and walking to each Side of the Scaffold, told them, they had as good and gracious a King as ever reign'd. He earnestly exhorted them to be faithful and constant in their Allegiance to him. And that no Pretence whatsoever should withdraw them from their Duty. He wish'd, with a feeling Resentment, that none might be less loyal to his Majesty than he had been. And it was very remarkable in him, he never seem'd transported with any Fervours or Extasies, but either in his Prayers to God, or in his Expressions of Loyalty to the King; then, indeed, he was all Flame, and you might read in his very Eyes the tender Emotions and Zeal of his Heart. He likewise assur'd them upon his Salvation, he knew no Design the Duke of York ever had against the King, but that he had behav'd himself, for ought he knew, as a loving loyal Brother ought to do: Then he again declar'd his own Innocence, and desir'd the Prayers of all good Christians for him; he pray'd to God heartily to bless the King, and preserve him from his Enemies; to bless the Nation; to bless and be with them all there present, especially the King's

King's loyal Subjects ; he beg'd God's Mercy and Pardon for his Sins ; he ask'd Forgiveness of all, and forgave all, beseeching the divine Goodness not to revenge his innocent Blood upon the whole Kingdom ; no, not upon those by whose Perjuries he was brought thither, to whom he wish'd from his Heart no other Hurt, than that they should repent and tell Truth.

Whilst he thus profess'd his Loyalty, his Innocence, his Piety, most that heard him were touch'd with a sensible Compassion for him ; some as he spoke put off their Hats and bow'd to him, in sign they accorded to what he said ; others, by distinct Acclamations, answer'd, We believe you, my Lord, God bless you, my Lord, pray God forgive him his Sins, &c.

In this Conjuncture a Protestant Minister accosted him, saying, Have you receiv'd no Indulgences from the *Romish* Church ? have you receiv'd no Absolution ? To which my Lord answer'd, What have you to do with my Religion ? However, I do say, the *Roman* Catholick Church allows of no Indulgences or Dispensations, authorizing Treason, Murder, Lying or Forswearing ; nor have I receiv'd any Absolution for such Ends. Pray do not trouble yourself nor me.

Then turning from the Parson, he apply'd himself to his Friends about him, whom he lovingly embrac'd, and with a pleasant Voice and Aspect bid them adieu for this World. Next he deliver'd his Watch, two Rings off his Fingers, his Staff, and his Crucifix about his Neck, as Legacies to several Friends : He desir'd the Sheriffs that such Persons as he nominated might have leave (without the Executioner's intermeddling) to assist him, and take care of his Body, which was accordingly done ; and his Gentleman stripping him of his Coat and Peruke, put on his Head

Head a silk Cap, and accomodated his Hair, Shirt, and Wastecoa, for the Execution. And now being ready for Death both in Body and Mind, he chearfully submitted himself to the Block, before which first kneeling down, and making the Sign of the Cross, he recommended himself with Raptures of Devotion to the divine Mercy and Goodness; after this he lay down, as it were, to try the Block. And then (who could imagine it?) with a stupendous Courage embrac'd the fatal Wood, as the dear Basis or Point from whence his Soul was now to take its flight to immortal Glory. The Headsman put him in mind, that his Shirt and Wastecoat came too high; whereupon he rais'd himself up upon his Knees, and bid his Gentleman put them lower. Whilst this was performing, he was heard continually to breath forth several Acts of Prayer, as *Sweet Jesus receive my Soul: Into thy Hands, O Lord, I commend my Spirit, &c.* When his Gentleman had finish'd, he again laid down his Head upon the Block, persevering still in Prayer, and expecting the sudden and dismal Arrest of Death, with a Courage (say the Papists) divinely elevated, a Constancy more than humane. No Change in his Countenance, no quaking or trembling in any one Joint of his Body, could be discerned. Thus he lay, or rather quietly rested, upon the very Brink between Time and Eternity, a good Space; till at length, finding the Headsman delay'd the Execution of his Office, he once more rais'd himself up upon his Knees, and with an Aspect grave (but still serene and lively) ask'd why they staid. It was answer'd, for a Sign; what Sign will you give, Sir? he reply'd, none at all, take your own time, God's Will be done, I am ready. The Headsman said, I hope you forgive me; he answer'd, I do. Then
 blessing

bleſſing himſelf again with the Sign of the Croſs, he repos'd his Head upon the Block, never more to lift it up in this mortal State.

The Headsman took the Ax in his Hand, and after a ſhort Pauſe, elevated it on high, as it were to take Aim, and ſet it down again; a ſecond time he did ſo, and ſigh'd; the third time he gave the fatal Blow, which ſever'd my Lord's Head from his Body, ſave only a ſmall part of the Skin and Windpipe, which was immediately cut off with a Knife.

The Body, after Separation from the Head, trembled a little, and ſtir'd no more. The Head was receiv'd into a black ſilk Scarf, by two of my Lord's Friends, and retain'd by them till the Sheriff call'd for it, and commanded the Executioner to hold it up to the view of the Multitude, the which he did at the four Corners of the Scaffold, crying aloud, *This is the Head of a Traytor*. But however the People had been formerly poſſeſs'd with Prejudice, both againſt my Lord's Practices and Principles, yet now they made no Acclamations at the ſight of the Blood-dropping Head, nor ſeem'd much taken with the Jollity of the Spectacle; ſome went away with Confuſion and Remorſe, for their paſt hard Censure of him; others conceiv'd ſtrange Apprehenſions and Fears of God's Judgments enſuing Perjury and Bloodſhed. Some again ſaid my Lord was drunk with Brandy; others ſaid, Verily this was a juſt Man. The Papiſts, who beſt knew his Innocence, and who look'd upon themſelves as, in ſome meaſure, Parties in his Sufferings, beheld this whole Tragedy with moſt tender Reſentments. They regarded him as a Victim of Religion and Innocence. They mutually accompanied him with their Prayers and Supplications to God in his behalf. They ſeem'd to receive new Comfort and
Courage

Courage from his Christian Magnanimity : They wept, they smil'd, they sympathiz'd with him both in his Dolours and Joys ; they bless'd and prais'd Almighty God for his Goodness to him, and to them in him ; they glorified his holy Name, who often sheweth the Strength of his Power in the weakest Subjects. In fine, many did (and still do) believe the peculiar Grace and Presence of God's Spirit had some Effect and Influence upon all, in a manner, that saw him ; and few there were of his Religion who did not wish themselves in his Place.

No sooner was Execution done, but the Sun (which before was obscur'd and secloded from our Sight) on a sudden dissipating the Clouds, sent forth its clear and illustrious Beams ; upon which Accident, different Parties have since made different Reflections ; my Lord's Adversaries say, The Sun before frown'd at Popish Guilt, but seem'd pleas'd when Justice was done. The Papists say, The Heavens mourn'd and were asham'd, and unwilling to be Spectators at the shedding of innocent Blood ; but appear'd in Joy and Splendor, at the Reception of a new and glorious Inhabitant into their cœlestial Mansions.

When the Head had been publicly expos'd, it was return'd back into the silk Scarf, held by a Youth that had waited upon my Lord, and so laid into the Coffin together with the Body vested (for out of Modesty my Lord desir'd he might not be stript naked on the Scaffold.) In the interim, divers Persons threw up their Handkerchiefs, to have them dipt in my Lord's Blood, wherein some were gratify'd, and others had their Handkerchiefs thrown with Derision over the Scaffold.

After

After this the Coffin was taken down from off the Scaffold by several Bearers, and by them carried to the Bounds of the *Tower*, where a Velvet Herse-cloth being spread over it, it was carry'd in order to its Interment into the *Tower*.

The CHARACTER of the Lord Viscount
STAFFORD.

William Howard, Viscount *Stafford*, was second Son to *Thomas*, Earl of *Arundel*, and Uncle to the then Duke of *Norfolk*: In his Youth he was educated with all the Care and Industry imaginable, to improve in him the Endowments of Nature and Grace; he was ever held to be of a generous Disposition, very charitable, devout, addicted to Sobriety, inoffensive in his Words, and a Lover of Justice.

When he arriv'd to Years of Maturity, he married *Mary*, descended from the ancient Dukes of *Buckingham*, Grand-child to *Edward*, and Sister and sole Heiress to *Henry* Lord *Stafford*, to whose Title he succeeded, (being created Baron by King *Charles I.* Anno 1640, and soon after Viscount *Stafford*.)

During the Time of the Rebellion, he suffer'd much for his Loyalty to the King, always behaving himself with that Courage and Constancy as became a Nobleman, a good Christian, and a faithful Subject: After the Restoration, he liv'd in Peace, Plenty, and Happiness; being bless'd with a most virtuous Lady to his Wife, and many pious and dutiful Children; in which State he remain'd till the 66th Year of his Age, when this Revolution of Fortune happen'd, viz.

About *Michaelmas* 1678, *Titus Oates* accus'd him and other Roman Catholick Lords, and some others of less Quality, of High Treason, in conspiring
the

the Destruction of the establish'd Religion and Government : My Lord *Stafford* relying upon his Innocency, never left his Family, or withdrew himself from his Acquaintance or Affairs ; but on the 25th of *October*, 1678, was, by Virtue of a Warrant from the Lord Chief Justice, committed Prisoner to the King's Bench, and from thence, soon after, sent to the *Tower*, where he remain'd two Years before he was brought to his Tryal. See *Stafford's Memoirs*, Page 1.

On the 30th of *November*, 1680, his Tryal began before the House of Peers in *Westminster-Hall*, on the Impeachment of the House of Commons for High Treason : As to his Lordship's Behaviour on this great Occasion, the Force of the Evidence, and his Lordship's Defence, I shall refer the Reader to the Tryal itself. See *State Tryals*, Vol. II. p. 593. Fol. Edit. Page 548, *Octavo Edit.*

The Confession of EDWARD FITZ-HARRIS, Esq; written with his own Hand, and deliver'd to Dr. Hawkins, Minister of the Tower, July 1, 1681, being the Day of his Execution.

I *Edward Fitz-Harris*, having been indicted of High Treason, for endeavouring to dethrone the KING, was thereupon found Guilty, and Sentence of Death pass'd upon me. I the aforesaid *Edward Fitz-Harris* do voluntarily and freely, without any Hopes to save my Life, but as a dying Man, and to discharge my Conscience towards God, and for the better Satisfaction of the World, make this Declaration following, in the Presence of God, and unto Doctor *Francis Hawkins*, Chaplain of the *Tower of London*.

I do

I do profess and declare my Religion in the general to be that which hath been truly and anciently deliver'd in the first four general Councils; and in particular, my Belief is that true Faith of a Christian, briefly contain'd in those three Creeds, commonly call'd *The Apostle's Creed*, *St. Athanasius's*, and *The Nicene Creeds*: And I die a Member, and in the Communion of Christ's Holy Catholick Church, hoping for Mercy, thro' the alone Merits of the Passion of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*.

I do also confess and declare, as to the Crimes which I die for; I was no further concern'd in the Libel, than as employ'd to give the King Notice of what Libels, or other Accusations, there were against him; and to this Intent, and no other, I endeavour'd to get this Libel: Which at length I did from *Mr. Everard*, all written under his own Hand, and carry'd it to *Mrs. Wall*, by whose Means I convey'd all Matters of this, or the like Nature, to the King. I told her I had a Business of great Consequence to acquaint the King with: But she answer'd me, That my Lord *Sunderland* being out, there would be no Money had for secret Service, and advis'd me to go to the Lord *Clarendon* or *Hyde*: But before I could do this, I was taken. As for that Part of the Libel which I left with *Everard*, as a Pledge, to assure him I would not betray him, I receiv'd it of the Lord *Howard*: And the Money I receiv'd from the King, was for bringing a Libel call'd, *The King unveil'd*, and *the Lady Portsmouth's Articles*. I call God to witness, I never had a Farthing Charity from the King.

I do further confess and declare, That the Lord *Howard* told me of a Design to seize upon the King's Person, and to carry him into the City, and there detain him till he had condescended to their

their Desires. *Heyns* and myself were privy to this Design, and had several Meetings with the Lord *Howard*; and as an Encouragement, the Lord *Howard* assured us of breaking the Settlement of *Ireland*, taking off the Additional Revenue of the Bishops, Forty-nine Men, and Grantees, whose Estates were to be shar'd amongst the Party.

I do confess and declare, That while I was in *Newgate*, the Sheriffs, *Bethel* and *Cornish*, came to me, with a Token from the Lord *Howard*, which I knew to be true, and brought Heads with them from *Everard*, wherein he accused me of being a Court-Emissary, or Yorkist, put on by the King to put the Libel into Protestants Houses to trepan them. But I declare upon my Death I had no such Intent, nor do I know any such thing. The Sheriffs likewise told me, I was to be try'd within three or four Days, that the People would prosecute me, and the Parliament would impeach me, and that nothing would save my Life but discovering the Popish Plot; and then the Sheriffs aforesaid gave me great Encouragement from my Lord *Howard*, that if I would declare that I believ'd so much of the Plot as amounted to the introducing the R. C. or if I could find out any that could criminate the Queen, *R. H.* or make so much as a plausible Story to confirm the Plot, that the Parliament would restore me to my Father's Estate, with the Profits thereof, since his Majesty's Restoration. I finding myself in the Condition I was, in *Newgate*, fetter'd, moneyless and friendless, my Wife ready to lie-in, without any Subsistence, my Children in a miserable Condition, and must needs be in a worse by my Death, and I could see no other Refuge for Life, but complying with them; so, not with ambitious Intent, but to save my Life, I did comply. The Sheriffs brought

brought Instructions, which they said came from the Lords and Commons, who met that Day in order to address to the King in my Behalf (if I should confirm the Instructions) and they made use of the Lord *Shaftsbury's* Name, and others, what Advantage I might have thereby. At the first I made a formal Story concerning the Plot, which was not prejudicial to any Body, but most relating to general Heads known publickly; upon which Mr. *Cornish* told me, These were things cry'd about the Streets two Years ago: I reply'd, I could say no more. Mr. *Sheriff* said, He was sorry for me with all his Heart, but thought I could say more if I would, and pressed me hard to speak to several Heads, unto which, unless I spoke, he said, there was no Hope of Life; the Heads I was to speak to, is what the Examination taken by Sir *Robert Clayton* and Sir *George Treby* contains, and a great deal more that I did not say then, relating to the Queen, *R. H. Earl of Danby*, declaring *French* Pensioners, Lords *Hallifax*, *Hyde*, *Clarendon*, *Feversham*, *Seymer*, and others; the burning the Fleet, Forts and Governments in Popish Hands, Meal-Tub Plot, Prentices Plot, the Contrivance of the Libel on the Lady *Portsmouth*, being a *French* Design to destroy Protestants. These and many other Heads were brought to me by the Sheriffs.

I do further confess and declare, That Sir *Robert Clayton*, and Sir *George Treby*, coming to me to examine me, Sir *Robert Clayton* ask'd me what I could say concerning *Godfrey's* Murder? I answered, Something. He replied, It may be I was in a Confusion; recollect your self. And what I said concerning Father *Patrick*, was forc'd out of me, and what I said concerning him is not true. Sir *George Treby* was with me three Hours, or thereabouts, and pressed me to say something concern-

ing *Godfrey's* Death : And said, Unless I could speak to that Murder, I could say nothing ; whereupon I said something I had from others. He ask'd me if I could say no more ? I replied, Is not this enough to save my Life ? Am I not Rogue enough ? The Recorder hereupon swore, 'Zounds, what were you ever but a Rogue ? Then the Recorder enter'd upon the Heads of the Examination ; which being done, he told me, All this would not save my Life, unless I would speak to the Libel, which was a Court Trick ; and it was not for nothing that I had been so often seen at the *Lady Portsmouth's*. The Lord *Shaftsbury* said, You know more of these Matters than any Man. Sir *George* would have me speak to the Consult ; that the Duke was at it, the Lords *Bellasis*, *Arundel*, and *Powis*, were at it ; you have seen 'em go to it at *St. James's*, without doubt they were there ; do you but say it, we have those that will swear it.

I do further declare and confess, That what I said against the Queen and the Duke, I was put upon, in the Matter of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey's* Murder ; and do further declare, That what I swore against the Earl of *Danby* ; the threatening Words that were utter'd, I did (to the best of my Remembrance) hear, but whom they concern'd I could not well know, by what my Lord himself said. And what *de Puis* told me concerning my Lord of *Danby*, I do believe was spoken out of ill Will ; and what I said against him was to stave off my Tryal till a Parliament ; and they were the more desirous to accuse the Lord *Danby* of *Godfrey's* Murder, because the Crime of Murder is not inserted in his Pardon. I am sorry for what I said against the Queen, his Royal Highness, and the Earl of *Danby* ; I desire God to forgive me the Wrong I did them, and do heartily beg their Pardon.

I do

I do further declare and protest, That this Confession and Declaration of mine I own sincerely, as a dying Man, and not to save my Life; and I call God and all his Angels to witness the Truth of it; and I renounce Mercy at the Hands of God Almighty, if this be not true.

And I do further declare and protest, as a dying Man, unto *James Walmesly*, *Edward Pattel*, and *Mary Walmesly*, That I have made this Confession and Declaration unto *Dr. Hawkins* freely, and of my own voluntary Accord, without any Manner of Promise made, or Hopes given me by him from the King of saving my Life by this Confession, I having given him to understand before-hand they were Matters of Consequence, and such as chiefly concern'd the Good of the King and Kingdom.

I give the Doctor my hearty Thanks for all his Prayers, Counsel, and charitable Offices he hath done me, and I pray God to bless him for ever for it. I forgive all the World, and desire all the World to forgive me; and the Lord have Mercy on my Soul.

EDWARD FITZ-HARRIS.

This Protestation was made by *Mr. Fitz-Harris*, *July 1*, between the Hours of seven and eight in the Morning, in the Presence and Hearing of us whose Names are here under-written.

James Walmesly,
Edward Pattel,
Mary Walmesly.

I do hereby declare, That *Mr. Fitz-Harris*, before he began to write any Part of this Narrative, was, more, than once, assur'd by me that there was no Hope of his Life, that I know of, what-

ever he should say ; nor of his Salvation, if he should say any thing that he knew to be false ; of which he being thoroughly sensible, and perfectly convinc'd, proceeded to write the Narrative afore-said. And I continuing to admonish him upon every Point that was material, not to say any thing but what was exactly true : He took occasion at several Periods of his Narrative to kneel down, and solemnly to protest the Truth of every Word therein contain'd. And this I again declare upon the Faith of a Christian, and the Word of a Minister of the Gospel.

Francis Hawkins.

The last Speech of EDWARD FITZ-HARRIS, at the time of his Execution at Tyburn, July 1. 1681.

This Day, pursuant to the Sentence pass'd at the *Kings-Bench Bar at Westminster*, on Mr. *Edward Fitz-harris*, for *Treason, &c.* he was near the *Tower Gate, on Tower-Hill*, deliver'd into the Custody of the Sheriffs of *London and Middlesex*, viz. *Slingsby Bethel* and *Henry Cornish*, Esquires ; who upon the Place sign'd a Discharge for him to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*. Then he was put on a Sledge, and thence convey'd through the *City of London* to *Newgate*, where he overtook *Oliver Plunket*, who was just before on another Sledge, passing to the same Place of Execution.

Where being come, (soon after *Plunket's* private Prayers, &c.) *Fitz-harris* ask'd *Capt. Richardson*, Whether the Sheriffs had a Warrant for the Disposal of his Body ? *Capt. Richardson* answer'd, Yes. Then he desired *Dr. Hawkins's* Assistance, which the Sheriffs readily granted, and call'd for him to go to him on the Sledge ; which the Doctor did, and on his Knees embraced him, and continued a private Discourse with him for some time.

Sheriff

Sheriff *Bethel* ask'd Mr. *Fitz-harris*, What have you to say?

Mr. *Fitz-harris* answer'd, The Doctor of the *Tower* would answer for him, he having left his Mind with him.

Mr. Sheriff *Bethel*. You will do well to discharge your Conscience.

Fitz-harris. I have left it all with the Doctor in Writing, under my Hand, who will communicate it, with Witness, to the World.

Doctor *Martin*, of *Woodstreet*, being at the same time in the Presence of the Sheriffs, desired Mr. *Fitz-harris* to declare, whether he died a Protestant or a Papist. He answer'd, Having left his Mind fully with Dr. *Hawkins*, he hop'd it might be satisfactory. The Doctor replied, It would be more satisfactory to declare himself there, and that it was no Shame to die a Protestant. To which Mr. *Fitz-harris* replied as before.

Then Mr. *Fitz-harris* said, Good People, this infamous kind of Death is much more irksome to me than Death it self: Such Judgments as these my Sins against God may justly bring upon me, and I do most humbly submit unto it. But as to the Crimes which I now die for, I take God to witness, I was no further concern'd in the Libel, than to discover to the King what Practices of that kind were against him, being employed to that end; tho' those that employed me, refused to do me Justice at my Tryal. And I call God to Witness, I never had a Farthing of Money of the King in my Life, but on the Account of the like Service. And as to the Witnesses that have sworn against me, I do here solemnly declare, now at my Death, that I have not seen the *French* Ambassador since the beginning of the breaking out of the Plot, neither have I had any Acquaintance with him. And as to his Confessor, I never spoke with him in my

Life; neither have I had any Dealing, either directly or indirectly, in my Life with them, tho' Sir *W. Waller* and the rest swore most falsely to the contrary. And how like it is that the *French Ambassador* would give three Thousand Crowns for writing that Libel, I leave the World to judge. What I may further declare, I have left with *Dr. Hawkins*. I forgive all the World, and do hope that God will forgive me. I beg the Prayers of all good People for a happy Passage into the other World.

Mr. Fitz-harris desired to know of the Sheriffs, whether his Body might not be at the Disposal of his Wife, without quartering. Upon which the Sheriff read him the Warrant.

The last Speech of Mr. OLIVER PLUNKET, Titular Primate of Ireland, who was executed at Tyburn on Friday the 1st of July 1681. Written by his own Hand.

I Have some few Days past abided my Tryal at the *King's-Bench*, and now very soon I must hold up my Hand at the King of King's Bench, and appear before a Judge who cannot be deceived by false Witnesses, or corrupted Allegations; *for he knoweth the Secrets of Hearts*; Neither can he deceive any, or give an unjust Sentence, or be misled by respects of Persons; *He being all Goodness, and a most just Judge, will infallibly decree an eternal Reward for all good Works, and condign Punishment for the smallest Transgression against his Commandments.* Which being a most certain and undoubted Truth, it would be a wicked Act, and contrary to my perpetual Welfare, that I should now, by declaring any thing contrary to Truth, commit a detestable Sin, for which, within a very short time, I must receive Sentence of everlasting Damnation; after which
there

there is no Reprieve or Hope of Pardon. I will therefore confess the Truth, without any Equivocation, and make use of the Words according to their accustomed Signification; assuring you moreover, that I am of that certain Persuasion, that no Power, not only upon Earth, but also in Heaven, can dispence with me, or give me Leave to make a false Protestation: And I protest upon the Word of a dying Man, and as I hope for Salvation at the Hands of the supream Judge, that I will declare the naked Truth with all Candor and Sincerity: And that my Affairs may be the better known to all the World.

'Tis to be observed, that I have been accused in *Ireland* of Treason and *Præmunire*, and that there I was arraign'd and brought to my Tryal; but the Prosecutors (Men of flagitious and infamous Lives) perceiving that I had Records and Witnesses who would evidently convince them, and clearly shew my Innocency and their Wickedness, they voluntarily absented themselves, and came to this City, to procure that I should be brought hither to my Tryal (where the Crimes objected were not committed) where the Jury did not know me, or the Qualities of my Accusers, and were not informed of several other Circumstances conducing to a fair Tryal. Here, after six Months close Imprisonment (or thereabouts) I was brought to the Bar the third of *May*, and arraign'd for a Crime, for which I was before arraign'd in *Ireland*: A strange Resolution, a rare Fact, of which you will hardly find a Precedent these five Hundred Years past: But whereas my Witnesses and Records were in *Ireland*, the Lord-Chief-Justice gave me five Weeks Time to get them brought hither: But by reason of the Uncertainty of the Seas, of Wind and Weather, and of the Difficulty of getting Copies of Records,

and bringing many Witnesses from several Counties in *Ireland*, and for many other Impediments (of which *Affidavit* was made) I could not at the end of the five Weeks get the Records and Witnesses brought hither; I therefore beg'd for twelve Days more, that I might be in a Readiness for my Tryal, which my Lord-Chief-Justice denied; and so I was brought to my Tryal, and exposed, as it were, with my Hands tyed, to those merciless Perjurors, who did aim at my Life, by accusing me of these following Points.

First, That I have sent Letters by one *Nial O Neale* (who was my Page) to Monsieur *Baldeschi*, the Pope's Secretary; to the Bishop of *Aix*, and to *Principe Colonna*, that they might solicit foreign Powers to invade *Ireland*; and also to have sent Letters to Cardinal *Bullion* to the same Effect.

Secondly, To have employed Captain *Con O Neale* to the *French King* for Succour.

Thirdly, To have levied and exacted Monies from the Clergy of *Ireland* to bring in the *French*, and to maintain seventy Thousand Men.

Fourthly, To have had in a Readiness seventy Thousand Men, and Lists made of them, and to have given Directions to one Frier *Duffy* to make a List of 250 Men in the Parish of *Foghart* in the County of *Lowth*.

Fifthly, To have surrounded all the Forts and Harbours of *Ireland*, and to have fixed upon *Carlingford* as a fit Harbour for the *French's* Landing.

Sixthly, To have had several Councils and Meetings, where there was Money allotted for introducing the *French*.

Finally, That a Meeting in the County of *Monaghan*, some 10 or 12 Years past, where there were 300 Gentlemen of three several Counties, to wit, *Monaghan*, *Cavan*, and *Armagh*; whom I did exhort to take Arms to recover their Estates.

To the *First* I answer, That *Nial O Neale* was never my Servant or Page, and that I never sent Letter or Letters by him to Monsieur *Baldeschi*, or the Bishop of *Aix*, or to *Principe Colonna*. And I say, that the *English* Translation of that pretended Letter produced by the Frier *Macmoyer*, is a mere Invention of his, and never penned by me, or its Original, either in *English*, *Latin*, *Italian*, or any other Language. I affirm, moreover, that I never wrote Letter or Letters to Cardinal *Bullion*, or any of the *French* King's Ministers; neither did any who was in that Court either speak to me, or write to me, directly or indirectly, of any Plot or Conspiracy against my King or Country. Farther, I vow that I never sent Agent or Agents to *Rome*, or to any other Court, about any Civil or Temporal Affairs: And 'tis well known, (for it is a Precept publickly printed) that Clergy-men (living in Countries where the Government is not of *Roman Catholicks*) are commanded by *Rome*, not to write to *Rome*, concerning any Civil or Temporal Affairs. And I do aver, that I never receiv'd Letter or Letters from the Pope, or from any other of his Ministers, making the least mention of any such Matters: So that the Friars *Macmoyer* and *Duffy* swore most falsly, as to such Letter or Letters, Agent or Agents.

To the *Second* I say, That I never employed Capt. *Con O Neale* to the *French* King, or to any of his Ministers; and, that I never wrote to him, or receiv'd Letters from him; and, that I never saw him but once, nor ever spoke to him, to the best of my Remembrance, ten Words: And as for his being in *Charlemount*, or *Dungannon*, I never saw him in those Towns, or knew of his being in those Places; so that as to *Con O Neale*, Frier *Macmoyer*'s Depositions are most false.

To

To the *Third* I say, That I never levied any Money for a Plot or Conspiracy, for bringing in *Spaniards* or *French*, neither did I ever receive any upon that Account, from Priests or Friars, as Priest *Mac-Clave*, and Frier *Duffy* most untruly asserted. I assure you, that I never received from any Clergyman in *Ireland*, but what was due to me by ancient Custom for my Maintenance; and what my Predecessors these Hundred Years past were wont to receive; nay, I received less than many of them. And if all what the *Catholick-Clergy* of *Ireland* get in the Year, were put in one Purse, it would signify little or nothing to introduce the *French*, or to raise an Army of seventy Thousand Men, which I had enlisted, and ready, as Frier *Macmoyer* most falsely deposed; neither is it less untrue what Frier *Duffy* attested, viz. That I directed him to make a List of 250 Men in the Parish of *Foghart*, in the County of *Lowth*.

To the *Fifth* I answer, That I never surrounded all the Forts or Harbours of *Ireland*, and that I was never at *Cork*, *Kinsale*, *Bantry*, *Youghal*, *Dungarvan*, or *Knockfergus*; and these 36 Years past I was not at *Limerick*, *Dunkannon*, or *Wexford*. As for *Carlingford*, I was never in it but once, and staid not in it above half an Hour; neither did I consider the Fort or Haven; neither had I it in my Thoughts or Imagination, to fix upon it, or upon any other Fort or Haven, for landing of *French* or *Spaniards*; and whilst I was at *Carlingford*, (by mere chance, passing that way) Frier *Duffy* was not in my Company, as he most falsely swore.

To the *Sixth* I say, That I was never at any Meeting or Council, where there was mention made of allotting or collecting of Moneys for a Plot or Conspiracy; and 'tis well known, that the *Catholick-Clergy* of *Ireland*, who have neither Lands nor Revenues, and hardly are able to keep decent
Cloaths

Cloaths upon their Backs, and Life and Soul together, can raise no considerable Sum ; nay, cannot spare as much as would maintain half a Regiment.

To the *Seventh*, I answer, that I was never at any Meeting of three hundred Gentlemen in the County of *Monaghan*, or of any Gentlemen of the three Counties of *Monaghan*, *Armagh*, and *Cavan*, nor of one County, nor of one Barony ; and that I never exhorted a Gentleman, or Gentlemen, either there, or in any other Part of *Ireland*, to take Arms for the recovering their Estates ; and 'tis well known that there are not even in all the Province of *Ulster* three hundred *Irish* Roman Catholics, who had Estates, or lost Estates by the late Rebellion ; and, as it is well known, all my Thoughts and Endeavours were for the Quiet of my Country, and especially of that Province.

Now to be brief, As I hope for Salvation, I never sent Letter or Letters, Agent, or Agents, to Pope, King, Prince, or *Prelate*, concerning any Plot or Conspiracy against my King or Country ; I never raised Sum or Sums of Money, great or small, to maintain Soldier or Soldiers, all the Days of my Life ; I never knew or heard, (neither did it come to my Thoughts or Imagination) that the *French* were to land at *Carlingford* ; and I believe there is none who saw *Ireland* even in a Map, but will think it a mere Romance ; I never knew of any Plotters or Conspirators in *Ireland*, but such as were notorious and proclaim'd (commonly call'd *Tories*) whom I did endeavour to suppress. And as I hope for Salvation, I always have been, and am entirely innocent of the Treasons laid to my Charge, and of any other whatsoever.

And

And tho' I be not guilty of the Crimes of which I am accused, yet I believe none came ever to this Place who is in such a Condition as I am ; for if I should even acknowledge, (which in Conscience I cannot do, because I should bely myself) the chief Crimes laid to my Charge, no wise Man that knows *Ireland* would believe me. If I should confess that I was able to raise seventy thousand Men in the Districts of which I had Care, to wit, in *Ulster* ; nay, even in all *Ireland*, and to have levy'd and exacted Monies from the *Roman* Clergy for their Maintenance, and to have prepar'd *Carlingford* for the *French's* landing, all would but laugh at me ; it being well known, that all the Revenues of *Ireland*, both Spiritual and Temporal, possess'd by his Majesty's Subjects, are scarce able to raise and maintain an Army of seventy thousand Men. If I will deny all those Crimes, (as I did, and do) yet it may be that some, who are not acquainted with the Affairs of *Ireland*, will not believe that my Denial is grounded upon Truth, tho' I assert it with my last Breath. I dare venture further, and affirm, That if these Points of seventy thousand Men, &c. had been sworn before any Protestant Jury in *Ireland*, and had been even acknowledg'd by me at the Bar, they would not believe me, no more than if it had been depos'd, and confess'd by me, That I had flown in the Air from *Dublin* to *Holyhead*.

You see therefore what a Condition I am in, and you have heard what Protestation I have made of Innocency, and I hope you will believe the Words of a dying Man ; and that you may be the more induc'd to give me Credit, I assure you, That a great Peer sent me Notice that he would save my Life, if I would accuse others : But I answer'd, That I never knew of any Conspirators

tors in *Ireland*, but such, (as I said before) as were publickly known Outlaws; and that, to save my Life, I would not falsly accuse any, nor prejudice my own Soul. *Quid prodest homini, &c.* To take away any Man's Life or Goods wrongfully, ill becometh any Christian, especially a Man of my Calling, being a Clergyman of the Catholick Church, and also an unworthy Prelate, which I do openly confess. Neither will I deny to have exercised in *Ireland* the Functions of a Catholick Prelate, as long as there was any Connivance or Toleration; and by Preaching and Teaching, and Statutes, to have endeavour'd to bring the Clergy (of which I had a Care) to a due Comportment, according to their Calling; and tho' thereby I did but my Duty, yet some, who would not amend, had a Prejudice for me, and especially my Accusers, to whom I did endeavour to do good; I mean the Clergy-men; (as for the four Lay-men, who appear'd against me, *viz. Florence, Macmoyer, the two Neales, and Hanlon*, I was never acquainted with them) but you see how I am requited, and how by false Oaths they brought me to this untimely Death; which wicked Act being a Defect of Persons, ought not to reflect upon the Order of *St. Francis*, or upon the Roman Catholick Clergy. It being well known, that there was a *Judas* among the twelve Apostles, and a wicked Man, call'd *Nicholas*, amongst the seven Deacons; and even, as one of the said Deacons, to wit, holy *Stephen*, did pray for those who ston'd him to Death; so do I, for those who with Perjuries spill my innocent Blood, saying, as *St. Stephen* did, *O Lord lay not this Sin to them.* I do heartily forgive them, and also the Judges, who (by denying me sufficient Time to bring my Records and Witnesses from *Ireland*) did expose my Life to evident Danger. I do also forgive all those who
had

had a Hand in bringing me from *Ireland* to be try'd here, where it was morally impossible for me to have a fair Tryal. I do finally forgive all who did concur, directly or indirectly, to take away my Life, and I ask Forgiveness of all those whom I ever offended by Thought, Word, or Deed.

I beseech the All-powerful, that his Divine Majesty grant our King, Queen, and the Duke of *York*, and all the Royal Family, Health, long Life, and all Prosperity in this World; and in the next, everlasting Felicity.

Now that I have shew'd sufficiently (as I think) how innocent I am of any Plot or Conspiracy; I would I were able, with the like Truth, to clear myself of high Crimes committed against the Divine Majesty's Commandments (often transgress'd by me) for which I am sorry with all my Heart; and if I should, or could live a thousand Years, I have a firm Resolution, and a strong Purpose, by your Grace (O my God) never to offend you; and I beseech your Divine Majesty, by the Merits of Christ, and by the Intercession of his blessed Mother, and all the holy Angels and Saints, to forgive me my Sins, and to grant my Soul eternal Rest. *Miserere mei Deus, &c. Parce animæ, &c. In manus tuas, &c.*

P O S T S C R I P T.

To the final Satisfaction of all Persons, that have the Charity to believe the Words of a dying Man; I again declare before God, as I hope for Salvation, what is contain'd in this Paper, is the plain and naked Truth, without any Equivocation, Mental Reservation, or secret Evasion whatsoever; taking the Words in their usual Sense and Meaning, as Protestants do, when they discourse

course with all Candour and Sincerity. To all which I have here subscribed my Hand,

OLIVER PLUNKET.

The Execution of STEPHEN COLLEDGE, at Oxford, before the Castle, on Wednesday, August 31, 1681.

Mr. High-Sheriff, **M**R. Colledge, it is desir'd, for the Satisfaction of the World, because you have profess'd yourself a Protestant, that you would tell what Judgment you are of.

Colledge, Dear People, dear Protestants, and dear Countrymen, I have been accus'd and convicted for Treason; the Laws adjudge me to this Death, and I come hither willingly to submit to it: I pray God forgive all those Persons that had any Hand in it. I do declare to you, whatever hath been said of me, I was never a Papist, or ever that way inclin'd; they have done me wrong, I was ever a Protestant, I was born a Protestant, I have liv'd so, and so by the Grace of God I will die, of the Church of *England*, according to the best Reformation of the Church from all Idolatry, from all Superstition, or any thing that is contrary to the Gospel of our blessed Lord and Saviour.

I do declare I was never in any Popish Service, Prayers, or Devotions, in my Life, save one time; about some seventeen or eighteen Years ago, as near as I remember, I was, out of a Curiosity, one Afternoon at St. *James's* Chappel, the Queen's Chappel at St. *James's*; except that one time, I never did hear any Popish Service, any thing of the Church of *Rome*, Mass or Prayers, or any thing else, private or publick. I know you expect that I should say something as to what I die for: It hath been charg'd upon me, when I was apprehended

hended and brought before the Council, some of the Council, the Secretary, and my Lord *Killingworth*, and Mr. *Seymour*, they told me there was Treason sworn against me ; truly, they surpriz'd me when they said so : For of all things in the World, I thought myself as free from that as any Man. I ask'd them if any Man living had the Confidence to swear Treason against me ? They said several, three or four, as I remember : Then they told me, it was sworn against me, That I had a Design to pull the King out of *White-Hall*, and to serve him as his Father was serv'd, or to that purpose, the Logger-head his Father, or that kind of Language : I did deny it then, and do now deny it upon my Death. I never was in any Manner of Plot in my Days, neither one Way nor another ; I never knew any such Persons, nor ever had such Communication with any Man hitherto : I know of no Plot in the World but the Popish Plot, and that every Man may know as much as I : If I had such a Design as these Men have sworn against me, to have seiz'd his Majesty, either at *London*, or this Place at *Oxford*, I take God to witness, as I am a dying Man, and upon the Terms of my Salvation, I know not any one Man upon the Face of the Earth that would have stood by me ; and how likely it was that I should do such a thing myself, let the whole World judge.

Dugdale swears, That I spoke Treason to him, treasonable Words in the Coffee-house, and in the Barber's-shop by the *Angel* ; he could not pretend to see me any where else ; but it is false, and a very unlikely thing that I should speak Treason to him. I must confess I was in his Company at the Coffee-house, and that Barber's-shop, before I went out of Town : But there could be no Communication between us, for he was writing at one

End

End of the Room, and eating a Piece of Bread, and I lighted a Pipe of Tobacco at the other End, and took it, till Sir *Thomas Player*, and Sir *Robert Clayton* came to me, and we went to my Lord *Lovelace's* out of Town that Night ; So when they came, we took Horse, and went out of Town with the rest : For my Part, I can't sum up my Witnesses ; I was under most strange Circumstances as ever any Man was ; I was kept Prisoner so close in the *Tower*, that I could have no Conversation with any, tho' I was certain the Popish Lords had it every Day there, but I could have none : I could not tell the Witnesses that were to swear against me ; I could not tell what it was they swore against me, for I could have no Copy of the Indictment, nor no Way possible to make any Preparation to make my Defence as I ought to have done, and might have done by Law.

I had no Liberty to do any thing, as I am a dying Man. And as to what *Dugdale*, *Smith*, *Tourbervill*, and *Heins*, swore against me, they did swear such Treason that nothing but a mad Man would ever have trusted any Body with, and least of all to Papists, every one of them that had been concern'd with Plots and Treasons among their own Party, and under the greatest Ties and Obligations of Damnation ; and to be fainted if they kept it secret, and to be damned if they reveal it. If these Men will not keep Things private for their own Party, how could I trust them ? I take God to witness, and do freely acknowledge, I have sought my God with Tears several times to inform me, if so be I had with any Word transgress'd at any time. I knew not of any Part of what they swore against me, till such Time as I heard it sworn against me at the Bar.

This is very hard, Gentlemen, but this is the Truth; and there be a great many other strange Reports that I have heard since I have been a Prisoner; that I should be a Means to convert the Countess of *Rochester*, by bringing one *Thompson*, a Priest, to her. Truly, all that I was concern'd in, was some fifteen or sixteen Years ago: I lodg'd at Colonel *Vernon's*, that marry'd the Lady *Brooks*, the Family were Papists; the *Brooks's* were Papists, and there was this *Thompson*, and I did suppose him a Priest, in the House, tho' I never saw him at Popish Service, or Worship, tho' I was there half a Year; but coming afterwards to my Lord *Rochester's* about some Business I had to do for him, and several other Persons of Quality; he sent for me one Afternoon from the Parsonage in *Adderbury* to his House, and his Lady and he stood together: He sent to me, and ask'd me, if my Horse were at Home; said he, I would have you carry this Letter to Mr. *Thompson*, if you are at leisure this Afternoon: My Lord, I am at leisure to serve you; so I took a Letter from his Hand, and his Lady's too; as I remember (he made an Offer that way) sealed with his own Seal, and I carry'd it to *Thompson*, and deliver'd it to him: And he told me, that he would wait upon my Lord, for it was for some Lands my Lord did offer, to raise Money for some Occasion: This is the Truth of that Scandal.

It is said, that I had a Priest several Years in my House, viz. *Sergeant*, that came over from *Holland* to discover. About some ten Years ago, that very same Man came to me, but was a Stranger to me, and he came to me by the Name of Doctor *Smith*, a Physician; and there was an Apothecary in the *Old Bailey*, and a Linnen-Drapeer within *Ludgate*, that came with him; they brought him thither, and took a Chamber, and lay

lay about half a Year, or three Quarters, at times, by the Name of Doctor *Smith*, and as a Physician; this is the Truth of that, and no otherwise. This is the Entertainment of *Sergeant*.

So the Occasion of my coming to *Oxford* I do say was voluntary; the Parliament-Men, last Parliament at *Westminster*, and several Lords, din'd together the Day before they sat; the last Sessions of Parliament at *Westminster*, they sent for me to the *Sun Tavern* behind the *Exchange*, and when I came, the Duke of *Monmouth*, and several Lords were together; and I believe above a hundred Parliament-Men of the Commons: The Duke of *Monmouth* called me to him, and told me, he had heard a good Report of me, and that I was an honest Man, and one that may be trusted; and they did not know but their Enemies, the Papists, might have some Design to serve them as they did in King *James's* Time by Gun-powder, or any other Way: And the Duke, with several Lords and Commons, did desire me to use my utmost Skill in searching all Places suspected by them; which I did perform: And from thence I had, as I think, the popular Name of *The Protestant Joiner*, because they had intrusted me, before any Man in *England*, to do that Office.

This same *Heins*, one of them that swore against me, had discover'd to me, and several others, as to *Macknamarra* and his Brother, and this *Ivey*, who are now all of another Stamp, that the Parliament was to be destroy'd at *Oxford*, and that there was a Design to murder my Lord *Shaftsbury*, by *Fitzgerald* and his Party; and that they did endeavour to bring *Macknamarra* over to him, and said, then it would be well with him; and they would not be long before they had *Shaftsbury's* Life. And he made Depositions of this to Sir *George Treby*, as I heard afterwards; for I was

not with him when it was sworn. I wish the Commons of *England* as well as I wish my own Heart; and I did not understand, but when I serv'd the Parliament, I serv'd his Majesty too; and let them be miserable that make the Difference between them, for my Part, I never did. I came to *Oxford* with my Lord *Howard*, whom I look upon to be a very honest worthy Gentleman, my Lord *Clare*, my Lord *Paget*, and my Lord *Huntington*, and this Captain *Brown*, and *Don Lewis*, were in my Company, and came along with us, as they were my Lord *Howard*'s Friends; *Brown* I have known I believe two or three Months; but *Lewis* I never saw before that Day; they said they came with my Lord *Howard*. I take God to witness, I never had one Six-pence, or any thing else, to carry on any Design; and if it were to save my Life now, I cannot charge any Man in the World with any Design against the Government, as God is my Witness, or against his Majesty, or any other Person.

As for what Arms I had, and what Arms others had, they were for our own Defence, in case the Papists should make any Attempt upon us by way of Massacre, or any Invasion or Rebellion, that we should be ready to defend our selves; God is my Witness, this is all I know. If this be a Plot, this was I in, but in no other; but never knew of any Numbers, or Times appointed for meeting; but we have said, one to another, that the Papists had a Design against the Protestants, when we did meet, as I was a Man of a general Conversation; and in case they should rise, we were ready; but then they should begin the Attempt upon us: This was my Business, and this is the Business of every good Subject that loves the Laws of his Country and his King. For *England* can never hope to be happy under those Blood-thirsty

thirsty Men, whose Religion is Blood and Murder; which I do, with all my Soul, and did, ever since I knew what Religion was, abhor and detest, viz. the Church of *Rome*, as pernicious and destructive to humane Societies, and all Government.

I beseech God that every Man of you may unite together as Protestants against this common Foe. Gentlemen, it is my Sense, and I do in that believe, I am as certainly murder'd by the Hands of the Papists, as Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* himself was, tho' the Thing is not seen. These Witnesses certainly are mercenary Men, and I beseech God Almighty to have Mercy upon their Souls, and forgive them; and either by his Judgments or Mercies reclaim them, that they shed no more innocent Blood: There is not a Man of them that I know of, that ever heard me say, or do, any bit of Treason in my Life. This is (the first, I may not say it is) but almost twentieth sham Plot that they have endeavour'd to put upon the Nation, to delude the People, and put off their own damnable Plot. This is not the first, but I think, the sixteenth or seventeenth; I pray God that my Blood may be the last. I pray God defend every Man's Blood, and all Protestants in *England*, from the Hands of these bloody Papists, by whose Means I die this Death; And if they shall go on in this Nature, I hope the good God will open every Man's Eyes to see it before he feels it. And, I beseech you, if you have any Love for your King, your Country, and the Protestants, unite together, if you are Protestants. I pray God those that deserve the Name, let them be call'd how they will, either Dissenters, or Church of *England* Men, that they may unite together like Men, like Christians, against the common Foe, who will spare neither the one Side,

nor the other, but beat you one against another like two Pitchers; the last that stands, they will certainly destroy if they can. This is my Sense; and God is my Witness, I speak my Conscience; I do not know, Mr. *Sheriff*, whether there be any thing else I have to say, or no; we have a good God, and I beseech every Man that hears me this Day, (for we live in a sinful Age, good People, and it behoves every one of you, it cannot be long before all that look upon me in this Condition must lie down in the Dust, and, God knows, must come into an eternal State, either for Mercy or for Judgment.) I beseech you, in the Name of God, he is a God of Mercy, and a God of Patience and Long-Suffering, that you would break off your Sins by Repentance, and serve a good God, who must be your Friend at last, or else you are lost to Eternity.

O Lord, how ungrateful Wretches are we, that have a God of such infinite Mercy and Goodness, that affords us our Life, our Health, and a thousand Mercies every Day; and we, like ungrateful People, not deserving the Name of Men or Christians, live riotous Lives, in Debauchery and Swearing, in Malice, and the Lord knows how many Evils? I beseech God that I may be this Day a Means in the Hand of God, to bring some of their Souls over to him: I beseech you, remember what I say; indeed I do not know, I have been so strangely used since I have been a Prisoner, what to say; being brought from one Affliction to another, that my Body is worn out, and Memory and Intellects have failed me much to what they were. I cannot remember what I have to say more, but that the Lord Jesus Christ would bless my Country, and preserve it from Popery, and in Mercy bless his Majesty: Good God be merciful to him, make him an In-

strument

strument in thy Hand to defend his Protestant Subjects; Lord in Mercy defend him from his Enemies. Good God bless this People; Good Lord continue the Gospel of Jesus Christ, thy Gospel in its Purity to us and our Posterity, as long as the Sun and Moon endure. O Lord, save all that call upon thee; be merciful to all thy Servants, all thy People that put their Trust in thee; good Lord deliver them from the Hands of their Enemies; good God, let their Lives, and Bodies, and Souls, be all precious in thy Sight. O merciful God, put a stop to these most wicked Conspiracies of thy Enemies, and the Nation's Enemies, the Papists. Let no more Protestant Blood be shed but this of mine, I beseech thee, O my God. O Lord look upon me, O Lord bless me, O good God receive me into thy blessed Presence, by Jesus Christ my alone Saviour and Redeemer, in whom alone I put my Trust for Salvation: It is thee, O God, that I trust in, thou righteous Judge of Heaven and Earth: All Popery, all Pardons, all Popes and Priests, all Dispensations I disown, and will not go out of the World with a Lye in my Mouth. From the Sincerity of my Heart I declare again, that what I have said to you, is the very Sentiments of my Soul, as God shall have Mercy upon me, and to the best of my Knowledge.

I desire the Prayers of you, good People, while I am here; and once more I beseech you to think upon Eternity, every one of you that hear me this Day. The Lord turn your Hearts and Souls, if you have been wicked Livers; if you do live wicked Lives, the Lord in Mercy convert you, and shew you your Danger; for I as little thought to come to this as any Man that hears me this Day; and, I bless God, I have no more deserv'd it from the Hands of Men, than the Child that sucks at

his Mother's Breast: I bless my God for it, and do say, I have been a Sinner against my God, and he hath learnt me Grace ever since I have been a Prisoner. I bless my God for a Prison, I bless my God for Afflictions, I bless my God that ever I was restrained, for I never knew my self till he had taken me out of the World. Therefore you that have your Liberties, and Time, and precious Opportunities, be up and be doing for God and for your Souls, every one of you.

To his Son. Where is my dear Child?

Mr. Sheriff. I made one Request to you, and you gave me an imperfect Answer: You said you were of the best reformed Church in the World, the Church of *England* according to the best Reformation in the World: I desire you, for the Satisfaction of the World, to declare what Church that is, whether *Presbyterian*, or *Independent*, or the Church of *England*, or what?

Colledge. Good *Mr. Sheriff*, for your Satisfaction: For twenty Years and above I was under the *Presbyterian* Ministry till his Majesty's Restoration; then I was conformable to the Church of *England* when that was restored, and so continu'd till such time as I saw Persecution upon the Dissenting People, and very undue things done to their Meeting-places; then I went among them to know what kind of People those were: And I do take God to Witness, since that time I have used their Meetings, viz. the *Presbyterians*, others very seldom, and the Church of *England*. I did hear *Dr. Tillotson* not above three Weeks before I was taken. I heard the Church of *England* as frequently as I heard the Dissenters, and never had any Prejudice, God is my Witness, against either, but always heartily desired that they might unite, and be Lovers and Friends, and had no Prejudice against any Man; and truly I am afraid that it

is not for the Nation's Good that there should be such Heart-burnings between them : That some of the Church of *England* will preach that the *Presbyterians* are worse than the *Papists*. God doth know that what I say, I speak freely from my Heart, I have found many among them truly serving God, and so I have of all the rest that have come into my Company ; Men without any manner of Design but to serve God, serve his Majesty, and keep their Liberties and Properties ; Men that I am certain are not of vicious Lives ; I found no Damners, or those kind of People among them, or at least few of them.

To his Son, kissing him several times with great Passion. Dear Child, farewell, the Lord have Mercy upon thee. Good People, let me have your Prayers to God Almighty to receive my Soul.

And then he prayed. And as soon as he had done, spake as followeth.

The Lord have Mercy upon my Enemies, and I beseech you, good People whoever you are, and the whole World that I have offended, to forgive me ; whomever I have offended in Word or Deed, I ask every Man's Pardon and forgive the World with all my Soul, all the Injuries I have receiv'd, and I beseech God Almighty forgive those poor Wretches who have cast away their Souls, or at least endanger'd them to ruine this Body of mine : I beseech God that they may have a Sight of their Sins, and that they may find Mercy at his Hands : Let my Blood speak the Justice of my Cause.

I have done : And God have Mercy upon you all.

To Mr. Coshwait. Pray Sir, my Service to Dr. Hall, and Dr. Reynall, and thank them for all their Kindnesses to me ; I thank you, Sir, for your Kindness : The Lord bless you all. Mr. Sheriff, God be with you : God be with you all, good People.

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The Executioner, Ketch, desired his Pardon, and he said, I do forgive you. The Lord have Mercy on my Soul.

The Execution of Capt. WALCOT, JOHN ROUSE, and WILL. HONE, on Friday, July 20. 1683.

Captain *Thomas Walcot* being drawn to *Tyburn* in one Hurdle, *John Rouse* and *William Hone* in another, and there put into a Cart, the Reverend *Dr. Thomas Cartwright*, Dean of *Rippon*, and one of his Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary, with *Mr. Smith*, the Ordinary of *Newgate*, began to acquaint Captain *Walcot*; That this was the last Time he had to spend in the World, and therefore desired him to make a good use of it, telling him, *That as Death leaves him, so Judgment will find him*; and earnestly exhorted him to make an ingenuous Discovery and Confession of what he knew touching the Conspiracy and Treasons of which he had been found guilty, and receiv'd Sentence to die.

To this *Capt. Walcot* replied, That he had some Papers in his Pocket, of what he had prepared to say in Writing, because his Memory was bad; therefore he desired they might be pulled out, and he would read them.

Then *Dr. Cartwright* and the Ordinary spake to *Hone* and *Rouse* to the Effect before-mentioned, earnestly desiring them to confess the Whole of what they knew; instancing some Places of Scripture to them, as *Joshua's* Advice to *Achan*, &c. *My Son, confess, and give Glory to God whom you have dishonoured*, &c. telling them, they would have imbrued their Hands in the Blood of a merciful and good Prince, who had often pardoned, and gave many Acts of Oblivion and Indemnity to his Subjects, and whose Reign hath preserved the Purity of the
Prote-

Protestant Religion amongst us: That we cannot enjoy more than we do enjoy: with other good Admonitions for them to make clear Discoveries of the Truth of what they knew.

Captain *Walcot* in the mean while was prepared to read his Speech.

Dr. *Cartwright* askt him if he could discover any more than he had done already?

Walcot. I've not in the general. I told the King the thing was laid very deep: There was a Gentleman with me last Night, I told him what I told the King, and that was all: I told him, I thought an Act of Indulgence would be very necessary, because he had a great many Men to take Judgment of. I know not the Particulars of the Design; but the King hath the Lord *Howard*, Mr. *West*, and others that know more than I. I was never in Council with them, nor never with them above four, five, or half a dozen times.

Then looking upon his Paper, he began his Speech as follows:

This great Concourse of People do not only come here to see me die, but also to hear what I shall say; and because I would not be reproached, and thought to be an Atheist when I am gone, I have two or three Words to speak for my Religion. I do believe in Three Persons, and One God, and I expect and hope to be saved by the Merits and Righteousness of his Son Christ Jesus, without the Hope of an Advantage by any Merits or Righteousness of my own. And I believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the Word of God; that *they were not written according to the Will of Man, but holy Men of God wrote them as they were inspired by the Holy Ghost.*

I believe that these Scriptures ought to be the Rule of our Faith, and the Method of our Worshipping of God: I believe that as Christ is the
Head

Head of his Church, so he is their Law-giver; that it is not in the Power of any Council or Conclave of Cardinals, or Power upon Earth whatsoever, to set up the Precepts and Traditions of Men, and to make them of equal Validity with the Word of God. I believe it was not because the Jews rejected and crucified Christ, that he rejected them, but because they rejected his Word; which appears by the three Thousand that God by one Sermon of *Peter's* converted; they being *prickt in their Hearts, and touch'd in their Consciences*, cried out, *Men and Brethren, what shall we do?* And they were *that Day added to the Church*. It was certainly because the Jews rejected the Word and Gospel of Christ, that *the Things were hid from their Eyes which belonged to their Peace*. It is a dreadful thing to reject the Word of God; and it is a dreadful thing to live in a sinful Course of Life, till God withdraws his Spirit from us: For it is said, *it shall not always strive with Man. Death is the Wages of Sin*. I believe, had not *Adam* sinned, he, and we, his Posterity, had not died. Death is said to be the *King of Terrors*, but it is only so to those that are terrified with a terrifying Conscience, that have the Arrows of the Almighty sticking in them, from Convictions of great Guilt, and see no Hopes of Mercy, have no Assurance of Pardon; but those that are Christ's, he takes away the Terror, and Horror and Sting of Death; he enables them to say with *Paul*, *To me to live is Christ, and to die is Gain*: He enables not only to get unto Christ, but into Christ; and so they have *Communion and Fellowship with the Father and the Son*. It is no hard matter to get the Notions of the Promises of the Gospel into our Heads; but unless the Lord is pleased to apply them to our Hearts, we cannot believe: Except we be *in Christ as Branches in the Vine*, we are not Christians indeed. It was the
 Case

Case of poor *Francis Spira*, he was certainly a knowing Man, but notwithstanding he had not Faith to apply the Promises. Christ hath said, *That he that believes in him, tho' he were dead, yet shall he live; and he that lives and believes in him, shall never die.* So, if we be able to apply the Promises by the Spirit of God, we may have Comfort thro' Faith: But then *Faith is the Gift of God*, and *Faith comes by hearing the Word of God*, and receiving it in the Love of God.

I shall not be tedious, Mr. *Sheriff*, I shall be very short.

Mr. *Sheriff*, take your own Time.

Walcot. As to the present Occasion of my Death, I do neither blame the Judges, nor the Jury, nor the King's Council; I only blame some Men, that in Reality and in Truth were deeper concern'd, and more engag'd than I, that came in as Witnesses against me, who swore me out of my Life to save their own; and who, for fear they should not do it effectually, contriv'd that, that I will appeal to you all, whether there be a Probability in it or not; for they said that I made it a Scruple of Conscience to have a Hand in killing the King, or to embrue my Hands in his Blood, but was so generous as to undertake the charging his Guards whilst others did it, and to the end another might do it. Truly I will appeal to all that know me, whether they believe me so much an Idiot, that I should not understand it was the same thing to engage the King's Guards, whilst another kill'd him, as to kill him with my own Hands. But however, by their swearing against me, they have secur'd their own Lives and Estates, and made my Blood the Price of theirs. I confess I was so unfortunate and unhappy, as to be invited by Colonel *Rumsey* (one of the Witnesses against me) to some Meetings, where

where some Things were discours'd of, in order to the asserting our Liberties and Properties, which we look'd upon to be violated and invaded. But it was he and Mr. *West*, and some Gentlemen that are fled, who were the great Promoters of those Meetings. I was near a Quarter of a Year ill of the Gout, and, during that time, Mr. *West* often visited me, and still his Discourse would be concerning *Lopping the Two Sparks*; that was the Word he us'd, meaning the King and the Duke; and propos'd it might be done at a Play: This was his frequent Discourse; for he said, Then they would die in their Calling; it was his very Expression. He bought Arms to do it with, without any Direction of mine; I never saw the Arms, nor I never saw the Men that were to do it; tho' they said they had fifty employ'd to that End. I told several of them, That the killing the King would carry such a Blemish and Stain with it, as would descend to Posterity; that I had eight Children, that I was loth should be blemish'd with it; and withal, I was confident the Duke of *Monmouth* would revenge his Father's Blood, if it were but to vindicate himself from having any Hand in it. Mr. *West* presently told me, that the Duke of *Monmouth* did not refuse to give an Engagement, that he would not punish those that should kill the King.

And now I desire to forgive all the World from the very Bottom of my Heart; and I pray God of his Mercy from my Heart to forgive them, even Mr. *Shepherd*, who deliver'd me up, who promised to carry me into *Holland*; but instead of that, he brought me into the Condition wherein I now am. I do desire with all my Heart to forgive the Witnesses, and withal, do earnestly beg that they may be observ'd, that some Remarks may be set upon them, whether *their End be Peace,*
and

and that *they die the common Death of all Men*. Certainly, tho' it be the Law of the Land I ought to die, and the King may justly and reasonably put me to Death for being in those Meetings where a War was debated; yet I think these Men are guilty of my Blood, that were as deep in as I, and have betray'd me, and taken it away. Then in the next Place, I beg leave, Mr. *Sheriff*, to speak one short Word of Advice to my Friends, that hath been often given to me, tho' I was not so fortunate and so happy as to take it, and that is, That they would neither hear any Man speak, nor speak themselves, that which they would not have repeated; for there is no such thing as Faith in Man to Man, whatever there is in Man to God: Either the Tears of a Wife, or a Family of little helpless Children, something or other will tempt and provoke Men to betray one another. When God hath a Work to do, he will not want Instruments, for he can make them; nor will he want a way to do it, for he can contrive it and bring it to pass. And I do most heartily desire, and my earnest Prayer to the Almighty is, That this may be the last Blood spilt upon this Account. I know Acts of Indulgence, and Mercy in the King, would make him much easier in his Government, and would make his People sit much easier under it; and that the Lord may incline his Heart to Mercy, ought to be the Prayer of every good Man. What hath happen'd, and what hath been the present Occasion of our Calamity, I suppose every Man knows; what Provocations have been on the one Hand, Fears and Necessities, Jealousies and Sufferings of the other, I will not intermeddle with, resolving to use my utmost endeavour to make that Peace and Reconciliation with my God, which is impossible for me to make with Man; and to make it my hearty

Prayer

Prayer to the great God, before whom I am in a little time to appear, that he would stench this Issue of Blood, and find out some other Way to preserve these Kingdoms in Unity and Peace, to the Honour and Glory of his great Name, and the eternal Comfort of his People.

One Word, Mr. *Sheriff*, I desire leave to speak as to *Ireland*, because the King press'd it hard upon me, and several People have been with me about *Ireland*, how far *Ireland* was concern'd in this Matter. I do aver here, as in the Presence of God, before whom I am now going to appear, that I do not know an *Englishman*, nor Protestant in *Ireland*, engag'd in it. What I did know, was only of one *Scotish* Gentleman in the North; and the King knows it, but he says he does not believe it. For they that were concern'd, I was never in any of their Councils: I never saw any of those Lords but the Duke of *Monmouth*, and that was I believe above six Months ago. I never saw nor spoke with one Lord, only my Lord *Howard*; I heard my Lord *Howard* say, That they did not value *Ireland*, for it must follow *England*.

I have not more to say, Mr. *Sheriff*; but truly you will do an Act of a great deal of Charity, if you will prevail with the King for an Act of Indulgence and Liberty to his People: I think so: And so the Lord have Mercy upon me.

Dr. *Cartwright*, You blame them for that which is their Virtue, and not their Crime; That they have been Witnesses for the King.

Walcot, I was not for contriving the Death of the King, if you'll believe me.

Dr. *Cartwright*, You blame them for betraying of you in contriving the War, upon which the Death of the King must have follow'd, if your Treason had gone forward, for else you could not have defended yourself from that Justice to which he

he hath brought you ; and therefore for you to lay that as a Crime upon your Witnesses, is indeed very strange.

Walcot. Sir, I think it was but reasonable that I should suffer that is due from Justice, and reasonable by the Law ; but these Men, they did not come in against me till they did it to save themselves.

Dr. Cartwright. Better late than never : A Man had better save his Soul and Body too, than die as now you do, for Crimes that ought to make every good Man's Heart relent ; and therefore for your blaming them, it was for that which was their Duty to do ; they have not committed a Crime in that, but a very meritorious Act.

Walcot. They have reveal'd it with that aggravating Circumstance, which I think no rational Man will be guilty of.

Dr. Cartwright. That Circumstance which you call aggravating, is no Aggravation at all ; that is rather a Mitigation of your Crime, to make them believe that you were tenderer of the King's Person, than to shoot him when he was not armed. But you confess you were consulting this Crime.

Walcot. I was not to have a Hand in the King's Death.

Dr. Cartwright. But it was propos'd when you were there.

Walcot. It was so.

Dr. Cartwright. And it was agreed to be done.

Walcot. Truly I do not know how far it was agreed ; I was there many Meetings.

Dr. Cartwright. These very Meetings you could not but be sensible of.

Walcot. There were several Meetings wherein the Business of the King's Life was never spoke of.

Dr. Cartwright. That was agreed in those Meetings ; but you had a tenderer Conscience.

Walcot. I say, they were for asserting our Liberties and Properties.

Dr. Cartwright. I would fain have you explain that.

Walcot. Truly, Sir, since you do press me to speak, we were under general Apprehensions, and so were those Lords that are likely to suffer, as I have heard ; they were under general Apprehensions of Popery and Slavery coming in.

Dr. Cartwright. What Sign was there of it ? You had no Persecution at all ; you were allow'd by the Law to meet five in a House, besides those of the Family. It is true, the Conventicles have been disturb'd of late ; and I would have you look upon it as a Judgment of God, to bring you to this for forsaking the Church of *England* : You have forsaken Communion with that Church in that Way you were instructed from your Youth.

Walcot. I do not come here to dispute of Religion, but I come here to die religiously, if it please God to enable me.

Dr. Cartwright. I pray God enable you : But I would not have you charge that as a Crime upon the Witnesses, which was their Duty.

Walcot. I can't tell how to excuse my Witnesses for aggravating things against me, and making them worse than really they were.

Dr. Cartwright going to reply. *Walcot.* Pray, Sir, give me leave ; for a Man to invite a Man to a Meeting, to importune him to this Meeting, to be perpetually solliciting him, and then to deliver him up to be hang'd, as they have done me-----

Dr. Cartwright. It was a Crime to solicit you to those Meetings ; but when you were in, it was a Duty in you and in them to reveal it : if God
had

had given you the Grace to reveal them, the Turn had been theirs, which now is yours. And whereas you say you cannot excuse them, that is uncharitable.

Walcot. I do forgive them, and I desire with all my Heart God would forgive them.

Dr. Cartwright. You confess you were guilty enough to take away your Life.

Walcot. I was so. The same Measure we meet to another, that Measure God will meet to us : Then, Sir, I do leave it to God.

Dr. Cartwright. Then you pray this may be the last Blood spilt upon this Account.

Walcot. I do so.

Dr. Cartwright. Would not you have Traitors brought to their End ? You talk of spilling Blood, as if it were innocent Blood now spilt, when you do confess and own the Guilt. But I shall give you no further Disturbance, but my Prayers to Almighty God for you, that God would give you Mercy. And then turning to *Hone*.

Dr. Cartwright. Mr. *Hone*, give Glory to God, and unburden your Conscience, for you have but a short time to stay here.

Hone. I have nothing further to say, but that I have been guilty of the Crime.

Dr. Cartwright. You are so.

Hone. Yes, I am guilty of this Crime, according to the Law of the Land.

Dr. Cartwright. I, and according to the Law of God.

Hone. Yes.

Dr. Cartwright. You say according to the Law of the Land, a Man may be sworn out of his Life by false Witnesses, but you were guilty of conspiring the Death of the King, and raising an Insurrection.

Hone. Truly I must say, as the Captain well minded, I was drawn in. *Thou sawest a Thief, and thou consentedst with him* : So I say, that I was drawn in, I saw the Thief, and consented ; I have look'd upon myself since to be the more guilty of Blood, and my Circumstance was to be drawn in, and insnared ; for I never was at any of their Meetings, none of their Cabals, but in a publick Coffee-house or Tavern, where they discours'd the Matter of Fact ; and I was to meet the King and the Duke of York, but I did not know at that time when, or where, nor what was my Business.

Dr. Cartwright. But you were to assist ?

Hone. Yes, I promised that, to assist.

Dr. Cartwright. Do you beg God and the King's Forgiveness for it from the Bottom of your Heart, that you have been guilty of this ? *For if the Blind lead the Blind, both shall fall into the Ditch* ; as well he that leads, as he that is led, altho' he that leads may fall deeper. There are Circumstances make one Man's Crime greater than another ; the Greatness of theirs does not lessen yours.

Hone. I believ'd that then I was very near another Snare : I was resolv'd to go down into the Country and not meddle in the Thing at all ; and had been in the Country, but meeting with *Kee-ling*, (I freely forgive him for whatsoever is done) he call'd me, and discoursing with him, I did say I was for killing the King, and saving the Duke of York.

Dr. Cartwright. Why was you for saving the Duke of York ?

Hone. I do not know what to say as to that : There was no Reason.

Dr. Cart-

Dr. Cartwright. What was your own private Reason for killing the King, and saving the Duke of York?

Hone. As to that, I think this: That the Duke of York did openly profess himself to be a Roman Catholick, and I did say I had rather dispose of the King than the Duke of York.

Dr. Cartwright. Had you rather a Papist should reign over us, as you take him to be, than the King?

Hone. I do not know what to say to that.

Dr. Cartwright. That does deserve a Reason, *Mr. Hone.* You ought to give some Reason of that, you cannot but have some Reason; if you had had a Design to kill the Duke, and save the King, then it might be to prevent Popery; but you say the quite contrary. God in Heaven forgive you for your murderous Design.

Hone. I know as little of this as any poor silly Man in the World; I was fain to gather it; I had it not so downright, I was drawn into it; however, I am now to die: As for the Witnesses, I desire the Lord to forgive them.

Dr. Cartwright. They have not wrong'd you, they have done their Duty.

Dr. Cartwright. *Rouse,* What say you?

Rouse. As a Man and a Christian, in the first Place, as God hath made me a Christian through his Grace, that the World may understand, that I do not die, as Captain *Walcot* says, an Atheist; I do here declare, in the Presence of God, and this vast Number of People, what Faith I die in: In that very Faith which was once deliver'd, and in the Belief of that Doctrine which the Church of *England* makes Profession of, and is agreeable to the Word of God, being founded upon the Doctrine of the Prophets and Apostles, whereof Jesus Christ is the Corner-Stone. There have

been very various Opinions concerning me, upon the Account of the various Employments that I have been exercised in, both here and beyond Sea: It has been my Lot to fall under such Circumstances, and to fall under such Misrepresentations and Censures, upon the Account of some publick Employments that I have been in for the King, and after I return'd from *Flanders*, upon the Account of Disbanding; it was almost morally impossible for such a one in my Capacity, to stand right in the Affections and Opinions of all People. When I was employ'd in *Flanders*, in the Payment of that Army, I was then between two Rocks, I will leave it to the Judgment of all sorts of People, you know the Country, I need not particularize, nor reflect upon Opinions, and the like. But I having been bred up in *England*, and had that Education it pleas'd God to give me, I was not fond of, nor carried off with, that Debauchery in those Times; and sometimes, more than once or twice, it was my Lot that I was like to have been murder'd for pleading for, and justifying the Actions of the King of *England*. Since my Return, and being employ'd under Sir *Thomas Player*, and some others, about disbanding, there it came to my Lot, because I could not humour some Gentlemen, who neither fear'd God nor honour'd the King (I will not say so of all, for I know some were very worthy Gentlemen that scorn'd any of those Actions which some would attempt. There is one worthy Gentleman I can speak very honourably of) that so they might have their Pockets full of Money, did not value how the Accounts were stated, and at the very same time I was under many Temptations of Handfuls of Guineas in my Hand to do so and so, to cheat the King; and because I would not do that, I was look'd upon as a Jesuit. I did wave all these

things

things under those Circumstances. It hath been my Lot likewise, being employ'd by Sir *T. P.* and the rest of the Commissioners, to fall into those Companies and Places where my Lord *Shaftsbury* and others have been, and have had some kind of Discourse, which was not Treason, but rather a thing that I ever abhor'd and declar'd a Detestation of: Since these Hurly-burlys, concerning Parliaments going off and coming on, did discontent the People upon one Account or another, I confess I have been a Hearer, and have understood too much of some kind of Meetings, which I pray God forgive them for, and especially those that call themselves Protestants, being ten thousand times worse than any others. That there have been such kind of Designs, and Meetings and Clubs, I have not been ignorant of; God forgive me that I have not been as careful and as diligent, and as ready and forward to discover it a great while since; that I ever had a Hand in it, or the least Thought, or Resolution, or Intention, to appear in it; but rather, on the contrary, have declar'd my Opinion against it, both in the Sight of God and Man, as a Breach of the Laws of God, and the Laws of the Land, and contrary to our Duty, who are bound to pray for the King, and all that are in Authority. I do declare, in the Presence of God, I am a perfect Stranger, and I thank God my Conscience is clear, I have acquainted his Majesty in Council, and I have had the Honour to be admitted into his Majesty's Presence in private almost half an Hour, on *Saturday* was seven-night, where I was as clear and above-board, and as faithful to his Majesty as I could be, in an humble manner, according to my Duty; where I offered to have some Time and Place allotted, that I might give him a whole Scheme of the Business; for there

were a great many Gentlemen that had a Respect for me. It was their Opinions that I had a general Knowledge of all the Clubs, and all the Designs that ever were since the King came in; but they were under a Mistake. I gave his Majesty an Account, to the best of my Knowledge; and when I had done, his Majesty seem'd to be pleas'd, and to thank me for it; but before I had Power to put it in Writing, and wait upon his Majesty, the Providence of God did so order it, the Council thought it fit that I should be committed to Prison, where I was some Days; I have had more Kindness among *Heathens* and *Indians*, I pray God to forgive 'em for it, I had not Liberty to send to my Wife, big with Child, in two Days where I was.

Sir, I shall not hold you in suspense, and multiply Words, but what is most proper to this Occasion. What I have given to his Majesty in Council, and what I have spoken to his Majesty in private, is nothing but the naked Truth to clear my own Conscience, that I may not go out of the World with any thing upon me: I wish those that call themselves Protestants would discharge their Duty better to God and the King, than either I or the best Subject ever did. I have lookt upon it as an Obligation ever since I knew what it was to be a Man, to carry myself obedient to those that God has set over me, especially the King, and those that are in Authority; and I have made it my Practice to pray for the King, as for my own Soul. That it has been my Lot to be acquainted with those Vanities of Clubs, and Persons, no rational Man will wonder, considering the Circumstances and Places I was call'd to. There is one particular Gentleman, Mr. *Sheriff*, I must desire the Favour to clear my self by something that I took occasion to speak of yesterday. I did ac-

quaint

quaint you, Mr. *Sheriff*, with what I had spoken to the King, how I was interrupted in the further Discovery of what I had a mind to say. What was further said yesterday, it was nothing but the naked Truth: In the first place, as to what was afterwards discours'd of, as to some particular Persons, namely and particularly Sir *Thomas Player*, I must do Justice to all the World. That he hath been acquainted with the Lord *Shaftsbury*, none here will wonder; but that he hath been very shy of his Company since he came out of the *Tower*: For he told me many times, he never was in his Company but once, for he did not like some things, and saw some Designs that he was afraid were going on; and thereupon Sir *Thomas Player* was so ingenuous and honest to the King, as to break off. I always look'd upon him as a very loyal Subject, and I must declare in the Presence of God, and all these People, I never heard him speak one dishonourable Word of the King; what he may have had with others is best known to himself. I have been in several Clubs eating and drinking, where it has been discours'd to accommodate the King's Son, the Duke of *Monmouth*. That there was a Design to set up the D. of *M*. I will not say while the King reigns; tho' some extravagant hot-headed Men have taken upon 'em to discourse these things, but not any worthy Man: I know those that were worthy to be call'd by that Name, have declar'd in my hearing, that in Opposition to the D. of *York*, if the King be seisd, they should stand by the D. of *M*. There are others, (I will not give Nick-names to any, you are wise Men, and know what I mean by speaking in the general,) that were for a Common-wealth, and some there were, two or three Persons. I shall be as plain as I can, and I hope you will bear with me, since it came to my Lot to come to the

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Knowledge of it. Some were for the D. of M. some for a Common-wealth, and some, but very few, not worth naming, were for the D. of *Bucks*: But that I think fell at last between these two, being the greater part, as far as I did apprehend by discoursing here and there in the City, which I did very frequently do. But the way of these Gentlemen's discoursing these things was only one at a time, especially a very industrious Gentleman that hath made it his Practice a long time, (for it hath been my Lot to be acquainted but two Months, and that too long) which is the Witness that comes against me, and I pray God to forgive him, and I blame him not for discovering me, but for the Words he spake himself, by way of instigating me to enter into a Design against the King; they were his own Words and not mine. I blame him not for discovering any thing whereby the King may be served. He did tell me several times there were Clubs in *London*, but I could never get out of him the Places where the Clubs were. Yet I endeavour'd what possibly I could to come to the bottom of that Design; for my Intent was to make a faithful and true Discovery, that I might not go to *White-Hall*, or a Justice of Peace, with an idle Story, or a Sham: But at last I got out of him, that *Rich. Goodenough* was chiefly instrumental. This was a very few Days before Notice was given, that this certain Person, *Thomas Lee* the *Dyer*, was sworn against by one *How*: I ask'd him the meaning: He told me, that *How* was a very Rascal. I asked *Lee*, Sir, What Course shall be taken? For, what by the *Doctors-Commons* of the one hand, and what by the Persecutions of the other, we must think of a Way how to relieve it. There is some Design in hand, says *Lee*; don't you know? No, said I, I would be glad to hear. There is an Invasion, said he, going on, a Design
against

against the King and the Government ; but that was only a Fallacy ; but he discover'd afterwards to me, that there was a Resolution, and a certain Number of People about the City and the Nation, to make an Attack upon the *Tower of London*, upon the City of *London*, upon *White-Hall*, and upon *St. James's* : I said, What do you design then ? Have a care that you don't shed more innocent Blood ; for the Land is stained with Blood too much already. No, saith he, the Resolution, as Mr. *Goodenough* saith, is not to spill a Drop of Blood, but only to secure the King's Person, that the Papists do not kill him, and then, saith he, we will deal with the *D. of York* as we please. They were his own Words, to the best of my Remembrance. Afterwards this Gentleman was sworn against by one Mr. *Keeling* in *East-Smithfield* ; saith he, he's a Rogue and a Dog, and I have seen him but once these nine Months, and I had no Discourse, but only drunk a Glass of Drink ; which proves since to the contrary. Being then in Company at the *King's-Head-Tavern* in *Swihin's-Ally* near the *Exchange*, News was brought, he was sworn against ; he did not know what to do, but found out a Place near *London-Wall*, and desired me to go to one or two about the Matter ; he knew not how to obscure himself, his House was beset, Messengers after him, and likewise a kind of Judgment or Execution ; how to put both Ends together he knew not. I told him, if he would I had a Bed, he might go to my House. I never heard a Word from *Rich. Goodenough* one way nor another of any Design against the King and the Government, whom I have known this seven Years ; only this *Lee* told me, his Hand was as deep as any other. It's true, this Gentleman comes and swears against me, that I should be the only Person to engage in taking the *Tower of London*. Sir John — you know very well

well in what Capacity I have been, and how very uncapable I was in my Person to take the *Tower of London*. I speak in the Presence of God, before whom I am to appear in a few Minutes, I never had any such Thought, never had any such Desire, never consulted with any Persons of Quality, never discoursed of any Arms in order to it; but only this I was saying. This Fellow being set on (and I think a more proper Person than any Man in the World) for that he was a little low in the World, he was under a Temptation of being thrown out by an *Anabaptistical Church*, for some kind of Failings, he was under a Temptation to make himself somebody, therefore he did close with Mr. *Goodenough* and some others; and when the first Proclamation came forth, he himself told me, I never knew it before, that *Rumsey*, Captain *Walcot*, *Nelthrop*, and *Goodenough*, and *West*, were concern'd in this Design, he was the Man told me: And when the second Proclamation came out, then he could tell me of those too; I told him he was a Wretch he had not discover'd it betimes; as to his swearing against me, for which God forgive him, that I had a hand in taking the *Tower of London*; the thing is this: He knew I was intimately acquainted with a certain Captain, one *Blage*, who was my Servant 21 Years ago in *Virginia*; he hath been a very faithful and honest Servant, I believe, to his Majesty for these 15 Years, particularly, five Years in three of his Majesty's Men of War. I know very well the Man is of such a Principle, that he abhors to engage in any wicked Design. But only *Lee* discoursing at random about taking the *Tower*, Captain *Blage* gave this Answer, (for he is a very jocular Man) if I were of a mind to take it, were it for the Service of the King, if there were an Enemy coming in, saith he, I would with six Ships well-man'd, and
arm'd

arm'd with Guns; undertake to take the *Tower*: Upon what Account he said it, I don't know, but I believe in my Conscience he had no more Design to put such a thing in practice, than I have to cut my own Throat at present. Captain *Blage* had heard these Discourses *Pro* and *Con*; saith he, 2 or 300 Men would do it, it's weak in such a place, I wonder his Majesty does not make it stronger. Now, when he came to swear, as soon as he was taken up, he took occasion to swear against me, all the Discourse he used in pressing me to undertake this Design.

Mr. Sheriff Rich. Pray, if you have any thing that was not told in Court, discover it, but you need not go over that which was in Court.

Rouse. *Mr. Sheriff*, I have nothing at all to say, either to blame the Judges, or the Jury, or the Witnesses themselves, the greatest of all. I thank God, I was not any way to have had any Hand in it: But the very Words themselves that came out of his Mouth he makes me the Author of; but I freely forgive him, as I desire God would forgive me: Though he did tell me positively there were five Hundred Arms to be brought out of the Country. I heard of such a thing, I confess, here and there, but could never know the Authors of it, nor the Clubs where it was discoursed: It was lately that he told me, *Goodenough* told him, That the King was to be taken off as he came from *Windsor*; That there were several things to be done in order to it; That they wanted a Place of meeting, and some thought of *Salisbury-Plain*, and some of *Black-Heath*, but the most convenient Place pitch'd upon was *Black-Heath*. They were discoursing how to gather the People together; some were for communicating it privately, others for a Ball. They ask'd my Thoughts: Said I, the best way will be, if you throw up a
Silver

Silver Ball, to get the People together: For my Design was to get what I could out of them. Thereupon he went to Mr. *Goodenough*, and discours'd him, and told him, that my Opinion was, to throw up a Silver Ball, and declare, All those that will come and drink a Bowl of Punch, shall be welcome, and that by this means they would have gathered thirty or forty Thousand Men in two or three Days time, which otherwise would have been a Fortnight a doing: But for himself, I will not blame him, nor lay any thing to his charge of which he is not guilty. I must needs give him his due. I do not remember that ever he insisted upon shedding of Blood, but that he hath discoursed in very opprobrious Terms and base Language of the Duke of *York*, by calling him Rogue, and Dog, and such things: And that *We will do his work*: That is true. And, that after the King's Decease, the D. of *Monmouth*, having a Vogue with the People, must of necessity succeed: I cannot tell what I can say more as to that; that is the chief thing I have to say, if I have not forgot any thing.

Mr. *Sheriff Rich.* Mr. *Rouse*, you would do well to name those Persons that were with you in that Consultation.

Rouse. There was no Consultation at all, Sir. That I had was from this *Thomas Lee's* Mouth himself, That there were five Hundred Arms to be brought in; That he had it from *Richard Goodenough*, and *Nelthorp*, and Mr. *West*; and that Mr. *West* particularly knew from whom these Arms were to come; for he gave me a hint, that part of the Arms were bought by Mr. *West*.

Mr. *Sheriff Rich.* Who propos'd the way of the Ball?

Rouse. Sir, he was saying, there were several Propositions made in the Club where *Goodenough* was,

was, and some thought of one way and some another, but they could not find out a proper way; saith he, what do you think? said I, if the People meet together they may throw up a Ball, just in that careless way I said so. So he came to me afterwards, and said that he had discoursed with Mr. Goodenough, and Mr. Goodenough told him, that there were forty thousand Pounds in Bank, and if such a Ball cost thirty or forty Pounds it matter'd not, to carry on such a Design as that was.

Here Captain *Walcot* spake.

Capt. Walcot. Sir, I desire you to take Notice of this, among other things, that so far as I ever heard of this Business, it is of no longer a Date than *August* or *September* last: I would not have this Consequence of it, so as to stifle the Popish Plot.

Mr. Sheriff. Do you know any thing of the Popish Plot that hath not yet been discover'd?

Capt. Walcot. No, Sir.

Hone. I had but the Knowledge in *March* last of this Business.

Capt. Walcot. I do not know nor ever heard, that it was older than *August* or *September* last.

Mr. Sheriff. Ordinary, do your Office.

Ordinary to Walcot. Have you fully discharg'd your Conscience?

Capt. Walcot. I have.

But it being said that *Rouse* was interrupted:

Mr. Sheriff North. If you have any thing to say, Mr. *Rouse*, go on, but do not make Repetitions.

Who pull'd his Paper out of his Pocket and look'd on it.

Rouse. He declar'd further, Mr. Sheriff, that when once the Thing came so far that the Tower and City were taken, and so many Men gather'd together, they would quickly increase; and the Method

Method was, to go to *White-hall* with Swords in their Hands, and to demand Privileges and Liberties, not to take away the King's Life, but only let the Duke of *York* look to it ; for he was resolv'd upon it that he should not succeed the King. Then he delivers another Paper, being his Petition to the King, and some more Notes in Short-hand.

Ordinary. Have you fully satisfy'd your Conscience?

Rouse. I have, Sir, a Word or two to speak to the People. I have discharg'd my Conscience, as to any thing as to what I was acquainted with. It had been happy for me if I had not heard of it ; but that I had a Hand in it I thank God I am free.

Dr. C. You had a Hand in the concealing.

Rouse. That I had.

Dr. C. And in maintaining the Correspondency without discovering it, and you do diminish your Crime.

Rouse. No, Sir, I don't desire it. Mr. Sheriff, I do freely acknowledge and confess, that it is just in God in the first place, and righteous and just in the King, that I die ; and that I die justly for concealing it. I would lay no Blame upon the King, nor any other Person in the World. I did not conceal it upon any Account to his Majesty's Prejudice, nor any Man in the Nation ; and I hope God will give more Grace to those Persons that do succeed. I beg a Word or two, I had almost forgot, as a Man and as a Christian, that it is a thing of such evil Consequence, I have found it by bitter Experience now, for such and such publick Places to be visited, especially by those that are Professors of the Protestant Religion, and particular Coffee-Houses, where it is very well known too much time is spent, and Families,

lies, and Wives, and Children, suffer too much: I pray God the People may take Notice of it, and lay it to Heart, that spend their Time so, thinking it is but a Penny and a Penny, and so discourse of State-Affairs, as if so be they were God's Counsellors in the Government of the World, running from the Coffee-House to the Tavern, and from the Tavern to the Coffee-House, which hath been the Debauchery of this Age, and so bring them into this *Dilemma*, to discourse of those Things neither pleasing to God, nor the King, nor themselves, but their Prejudice. The Profanation of the *Sabbath-day* is commonly discours'd of in this Place, God forgive me for not observing it as I should. I pray God those that follow me may be more careful of their Duty to God and Man, for the Good of themselves, their Souls, and their Families; those that are young especially, and coming up, that they may chiefly mind their Concerns for Eternity, and that they would pay their Duty and Homage to the King, and those that God has set over them; and not neglect that great Command, to pray for the King and all that are in Authority.

Being ask'd if they had any thing more to say, they said No. Mr. Ordinary then pray'd with them, and sung a Psalm; and then they desir'd to pray themselves; which was granted.

There were these Lines more in the Paper deliver'd by Captain *Walcot*, than what you have before seen.

As to *Ireland*, I am very inclinable to believe, could I have charged any Body there, with being engag'd in the Matter for which I suffer, I might have had my Life; but by the Blessing of God I will charge no Man wrongfully, no not to save
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my Life ; and these being some of the last Words I am to speak, I do aver, I knew not an *Englishman*, or Protestant in *Ireland*, any way engag'd in it. Besides, I was told, they that were mostly concern'd, did not value *Ireland*, and said it must of course follow *England*. Something I heard of one Gentleman in the North, and whether it be true or false I will not determine.

Having ended their respective Speeches and Prayers, the Executioner did his Office.

The Execution of the Lord RUSSEL, on Saturday the 21st of July, 1683.

ABOUT nine in the Morning, the Sheriffs went to *Newgate*, to see if my Lord *Russet* was ready ; and in a little time his Lordship came out, and went into his Coach, taking his Farewel of his Lady, the Lord *Cavendish*, and several other of his Friends at *Newgate* ; in the Coach were Dr. *Tillotson*, and Dr. *Burnet*, who accompanied him to the Scaffold built in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*, which was cover'd all over with Mourning. Being come upon the Scaffold, his Lordship bow'd to the Persons present, and turning to the Sheriff made this following Speech.

Mr. Sheriff,

I expected the Noise would be such, that I should not be very well heard. I was never fond of much speaking, much less now ; therefore I have set down in this Paper all that I think fit to leave behind me. God knows how far I was always from Designs against the King's Person, or of altering the Government. And I still pray for the Preservation of both, and of the Protestant Religion.

Mr.

Mr. Sheriff. I am told, that Captain *Walcot* yesterday said some things concerning my Knowledge of the Plot: I know not whether the Report is true or not.

Mr. Sheriff. I did not hear him name your Lordship.

Writer. No, my Lord, your Lordship was not nam'd by any of them.

Lord Russel. I hope it is not; for, to my Knowledge, I never saw him, nor spake with him in my whole Life; and in the Words of a dying Man, I profess I know of no Plot, either against the King's Life, or the Government. But I have now done with this World, and am going to a better; I forgive all the World heartily, and I thank God I die in Charity with all Men; and I wish all sincere Protestants may love one another, and not make way for Popery by their Animosities. I pray God forgive them, and continue the Protestant Religion amongst them, that it may flourish so long as the Sun and Moon endure. I am now more satisfied to die than ever I have been.

Then kneeling down, his Lordship pray'd to himself, after which *Dr. Tillotson* kneel'd down and pray'd with him; which being done, his Lordship kneel'd down and pray'd a second time to himself, then pull'd off his Peruke, put on his Cap, took off his Cravat, and Coat, and bidding the Executioner, after he had lain down a small Moment, do his Office without a Sign, he gave him some Gold; then embracing *Dr. Tillotson* and *Dr. Burnet*, he laid him down with his Neck upon the Block.

The Executioner missing at his first Stroke, though with that he took away Life, at two more severed the Head from the Body. The Executioner held up the Head to the People, as is usual

in Cases of Treason, &c. which being done, Mr. Sheriff order'd his Lordship's Friends or Servants to take the Body, and dispose of it as they pleas'd, being given them by his Majesty's Favour and Bounty.

The Paper deliver'd to the Sheriffs by my Lord
 RUSSEL.

I thank God, I find myself so compos'd and prepar'd for Death, and my Thoughts so fixt on another World, that, I hope in God, I am now quite wean'd from setting my Heart on this. Yet I cannot forbear spending some time now, in setting down in Writing a fuller Account of my Condition to be left behind me, than I'll venture to say at the Place of Execution, in the Noise and Clutter that is like to be there. I bless God heartily for those many Blessings, which he in his infinite Mercy hath bestow'd upon me through the whole Course of my Life; that I was born of worthy good Parents, and had the Advantage of a religious Education, which I have often thank'd God very heartily for, and look'd upon as an invaluable Blessing; for even when I minded it least, it still hung about me and gave me Checks, and hath now for many Years so influenc'd and possess'd me, that I feel the happy Effects of it in this my Extremity, in which I have been so wonderfully (I thank God) supported, that neither my Imprisonment, nor the Fear of Death, have been able to discompose me to any Degree; but on the contrary, I have found the Assurances of the Love and Mercy of God, in and through my blessed Redeemer, in whom only I trust; and I do not question, but that I am going to partake of that Fulness of Joy which is in his Presence, the Hope whereof does so wonderfully delight me, that I reckon
 this

this as the happiest Time of my Life, tho' others may look upon it as the saddest.

I have liv'd, and now die of the reform'd Religion, a true and sincere Protestant, and in the Communion of the Church of *England*, though I could never yet comply with, or rise up to all the Heights of some People. I wish with all my Soul, all our unhappy Differences were remov'd, and that all sincere Protestants would so far consider the Danger of Popery, as to lay aside their Heats, and agree against the common Enemy; and that the Churchmen would be less severe, and the Dissenters less scrupulous; for I think Bitterness and Persecution are at all times bad, but much more now.

For Popery, I look on it as an idolatrous and bloody Religion; and therefore thought myself bound, in my Station, to do all I could against it. And by that, I foresaw I should procure such great Enemies to myself, and so powerful ones, that I have been now for some time expecting the Worst. And blessed be God, I fall by the Ax, and not by the fiery Tryal. Yet, whatever Apprehensions I had of Popery, and of my own severe and heavy Share I was like to have under it, when it should prevail, I never had a Thought of doing any thing against it basely or inhumanely, but what could well consist with the Christian Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom. And, I thank God, I have examin'd all my Actings in that Matter, with so great Care, that I can appeal to God Almighty, who knows my Heart, that I went on sincerely, without being mov'd, either by Passion, by End, or ill Design. I have always lov'd my Country much more than my Life, and never had any Design of changing the Government, which I value, and look upon as one of the best Governments in the

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World,

World, and would always have been ready to venture my Life for the preserving of it, and would have suffer'd any Extremity, rather than have consented to any Design to take away the King's Life : Neither ever had Man the Impudence to propose so base and barbarous a thing to me. And I look upon it as a very unhappy, and uneasy Part of my present Condition, that in my Indictment there should be so much as Mention of so vile a Fact ; tho' nothing in the least was said to prove any such Matter ; but the contrary, by the Lord *Howard* : Neither does any Body, I am confident, believe the least of it. So that I need not, I think, say more.

For the King, I do sincerely pray for him, and wish well to him, and to the Nation, that they may be happy in one another ; that he may be indeed the Defender of the Faith ; that the Protestant Religion, and the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom may be preserv'd, and flourish under his Government ; and that he in his Person may be happy, both here, and hereafter.

As for the Share I had in the Prosecution of the Popish Plot, I take God to witness, that I proceeded in it in the Sincerity of my Heart ; being then really convinc'd (as I am still) that there was a Conspiracy against the King, the Nation, and the Protestant Religion : And I likewise profess, that I never knew any thing, either directly or indirectly, of any Practice with the Witnesses, which I look upon as so horrid a thing, that I could never have endur'd it. For, I thank God, Falshood and Cruelty were never in my Nature, but always the farthest from it imaginable. I did believe, and do still, that Popery is breaking in upon the Nation ; and that those who advance it, will stop at nothing, to carry on their Design : I am heartily sorry that so many Protestants give
their

their helping Hand to it. But I hope God will preserve the Protestant Religion, and this Nation: Tho' I am afraid it will fall under very great Tryals, and very sharp Sufferings. And indeed the Impiety and Profaneness that abounds, and appears so scandalously bare-fac'd every where, gives too just Reason to fear the worst Things which can befall a People. I pray God prevent it, and give those who have shew'd Concern for the publick Good, and who have appear'd hearty for the true Interest of the Nation, and the Protestant Religion, Grace to live so, that they may not cast a Reproach on that which they endeavour to advance; which (God knows) hath often given me many sad Thoughts. And I hope such of my Friends as may think they are touch'd by this, will not take what I say in ill Part, but endeavour to amend their Ways, and live suitable to the Rules of the true reform'd Religion; which is the only Thing can administer true Comfort at the latter End, and revive a Man when he comes to die.

As for my present Condition, I bless God, I have no Repining in my Heart at it. I know, for my Sins, I have deserv'd much worse at the Hands of God: So that I cheerfully submit to so small a Punishment, as the being taken off a few Years sooner, and the being made a Spectacle to the World. I do freely forgive all the World, particularly those concern'd in taking away my Life: And I desire and conjure my Friends to think of no Revenge, but to submit to the holy Will of God, into whose Hands I resign myself entirely.

But to look back a little; I cannot but give some Touch about the Bill of Exclusion, and shew the Reasons of my appearing in that Business; which in short is this: That I thought the Nation was in such Danger of Popery, and that the

Expectation of a Popish Successor (as I have said in Parliament) put the King's Life likewise in such Danger, that I saw no Way so effectual to secure both, as such a Bill. As to the Limitations which were propos'd, if they were sincerely offer'd, and had pass'd into a Law, the Duke then would have been excluded from the Power of a King, and the Government quite alter'd, and little more than the Name of a King left. So I could not see either Sin or Fault in the one, when all People were willing to admit of t'other ; but thought it better to have a King with his Prerogative, and the Nation easy and safe under him, than a King without it ; which must have bred perpetual Jealousies, and a continual Struggle. All this I say, only to justify myself, and not to inflame others : Tho' I cannot but think my Earnestness in that Matter has had no small Influence in my present Sufferings. But I have now done with this World, and am going to a Kingdom that cannot be mov'd.

And to the conspiring to seize the Guards, which is the Crime for which I am condemned, and which was made a constructive Treason for taking away the King's Life, to bring it within the Statute of *Edward III.* I shall give this true and clear Account. I never was at Mr. *Shepherd's* with that Company but once, and there was no Undertaking then of securing, or seizing the Guards, nor none appointed to view, or examine them : Some Discourse there was about the Feasibleness of it ; and several times, by Accident, in general Discourse elsewhere, I have heard it mention'd, as a thing might easily be done, but never consented to, as fit to be done. And I remember particularly at my Lord *Shaftsbury's*, there being some general Discourse of this kind, I immediately flew out, and exclaim'd against it, and ask'd,

If

If the thing succeeded, what must be done next, but massacring the Guards, and killing them in cold Blood? Which I look'd upon as so detestable a Thing, and so like a Popish Practice, that I could not but abhor it. And at the same time the Duke of *Monmouth* took me by the Hand, and told me very kindly, My Lord, I see you and I are of a Temper; Did you ever hear so horrid a Thing? And I must needs do him that Justice to declare, that I never observ'd in him but an Abhorrence to all base Things.

As to my going to Mr. *Shepherd's*, I went with an Intention to taste Sherry; for he had promis'd me to reserve for me the next very good Piece he met with, when I went out of Town; and if he recollects, he may remember I ask'd him about it, and he went and fetch'd a Bottle; but when I tasted it, I said it was hot in the Mouth; and desir'd that whenever he met with a choice Piece, he would keep it for me: Which he promis'd. I enlarge the more upon this, because Sir *George Jeffries* insinuated to the Jury, as if I had made a Story about going thither; but I never said that was the only Reason: And I will now truly and plainly add the rest.

I was the Day before this Meeting come to Town for two or three Days, as I had done once or twice before; having a very near and dear Relation lying in a very languishing and desperate Condition: And the Duke of *Monmouth* came to me, and told me, he was extremely glad I was come to Town; for my Lord *Shaftsbury* and some hot Men would undo us all, if great Care be not taken, and therefore, for God's sake use your Endeavours with your Friends, to prevent any thing of this kind. He told me, there would be Company at Mr. *Shepherd's* that Night, and desir'd me to be at Home in the Evening, and he would call
me;

me ; which he did : And when I came into the Room, I saw Mr. *Rumsey* by the Chimney, tho' he swears he came in after ; and there were things said by some with much more Heat than Judgment, which I did sufficiently disapprove, and yet for these Things I stand condemn'd. But I thank God, my Part was sincere, and well meant. It is, I know, inferred from hence, and was pressed to me, that I was acquainted with these Heats and ill Designs, and did not discover them. But this is but Misprision of Treason at most. So I die innocent of the Crime I stand condemn'd for, and I hope no body will imagine that so mean a Thought could enter into me, as to go about to save myself by accusing others. The Part that some have acted lately of that kind, has not been such as to invite me to love Life at such a Rate.

As for the Sentence of Death pass'd upon me, I cannot but think it a very hard one ; for nothing was sworn against me (whether true or false, I will not now examine) but some Discourses about making some Stirs. And this is not levying War against the King, which is Treason by the Statute of *Edward III.* and not the consulting and discoursing about it, which was all that was witnessed against me. But, by a strange Fetch, the Design of seizing the Guards, was construed a Design of killing the King, and so I was in that cast.

And now I have truly and sincerely told what my Part was in that, which cannot be more than a bare Misprision ; and yet I am condemn'd as guilty of a Design of killing the King, I pray God lay not this to the Charge, neither of the King's Council, nor Judges, nor Sheriffs, nor Jury : And for the Witnesses, I pity them, and wish them well ; I shall not reckon up the Particulars wherein they did me wrong ; I had rather their
own

own Consciences should do that, to which, and the Mercies of God, I leave them. Only I still aver, that what I said of my not hearing Colonel *Rumsey* deliver his Message from my Lord *Shaftsbury*, was true ; for I always detested Lying, tho' never so much to my Advantage. And I hope none will be so unjust and uncharitable, as to think I would venture on it in these my last Words, for which I am so soon to give an Account to the Great God, the Searcher of Hearts, and Judge of all Things.

From the time of chusing Sheriffs, I concluded the Heat in that Matter would produce something of this kind ; and I am not much surpriz'd to find it fall upon me. And I wish what is done to me may put a Stop, and satiate some Peoples Revenge, and that no more innocent Blood may be shed ; for I must and do still look upon mine as such, since I know I was guilty of no Treason ; and therefore I would not betray my Innocence by Flight, of which I do not (I thank God) yet repent, (tho' much pressed to it) how fatal soever it may have seem'd to have prov'd to me ; for I look upon my Death in this Manner, (I thank God) with other Eyes than the World does. I know I said but little at the Tryal, and I suppose it looks more like Innocence than Guilt. I was also advis'd not to confess Matter of Fact plainly, since that must certainly have brought me within the Guilt of Misprision. And being thus restrain'd from dealing frankly and openly, I chose rather to say little, than to depart from Ingenuity, that by the Grace of God I had carried along with me in the former Parts of my Life, and so could easier be silent, and leave the whole Matter to the Conscience of the Jury, than to make the last and solemnest Part of my Life so different from the Course of it, as the using little Tricks and Evasions

sions must have been. Nor did I ever pretend to a great Readiness in speaking : I wish those Gentlemen of the Law who have it, would make more Conscience in the Use of it, and not run Men down by Strains and Fetches, impose on easy and willing Juries, to the Ruin of innocent Men : For to kill by Forms and Subtilties of Law, is the worst sort of Murder : But I wish the Rage of hot Men, and the Partialities of Juries may be stopt with my Blood, which I would offer up with so much the more Joy, if I thought I should be the last were to suffer in such a Way.

Since my Sentence, I have had few Thoughts but preparatory ones for Death ; yet the Impor-tunity of my Friends, and particularly of the best and dearest Wife in the World, prevail'd with me to sign Petitions, and make Addresses for my Life : To which I was very averse. For (I thank God) tho' in all Respects I have liv'd one of the happiest and contentedst Men in the World (for now near fourteen Years) yet I am so willing to leave all, that it was not without Difficulty that I did any thing for the saving of my Life that was begging. But I was willing to let my Friends see what Power they had over me, and that I was not obstinate nor sullen, but would do any thing that an honest Man could do for their Satisfaction. Which was the only Motive that sway'd, or had any Weight with me.

And now to sum up all, as I never had any Design against the King's Life, or the Life of any Man whatsoever ; so I never was in any Contrivance of altering the Government. What the Heats, Wickednesses, Passions, and Vanities of other Men have occasion'd, I ought not to be answerable for ; nor could I repress them, tho' I now suffer for them. But the Will of the Lord be done, into whose Hands I commend my Spirit ;

rit ; and trust that thou, O merciful Father !
 hast forgiven me all my Transgressions ; the Sins
 of my Youth, and all the Errors of my past Life,
 and that thou wilt not lay my secret Sins to my
 Charge ; but wilt graciously support me, during
 that small Part of my Life now before me, and
 assist me in my last Moments, and not leave me
 then to be disorder'd by Fear, or any other Temp-
 tation ; but make the Light of thy Countenance
 to shine upon me ; for thou art my Sun and my
 Shield : And as thou supportest me by thy Grace,
 so I hope thou wilt hereafter crown me with Glo-
 ry, and receive me into the Fellowship of Angels
 and Saints, in that blessed Inheritance, purchas'd
 for me by my most merciful Redeemer, who is, I
 trust, at thy right Hand, preparing a Place for me ;
 into whose Hands I commend my Spirit.

Signed

WILLIAM RUSSEL.

The CHARACTER of WILLIAM Lord
 RUSSEL.

The Lord *Russel* was Son to the Earl of *Bed-
 ford*, a Family that was become exceeding popu-
 lar by keeping up the old *English* Hospitality. This
 Earl seldom turn'd off his Servants when they
 married, but maintain'd them, their Children,
 and Grand-children, under his Roof; insomuch
 that there was seldom found fewer than a hun-
 dred of them in his Family ; and whoever could
 claim any Relation or Acquaintance with his Do-
 mesticks, might have Access to their Tables : He
 took a peculiar Delight in beholding People eat
 and drink of his Bounty, and would appear fre-
 quently among them, and bid them welcome.

Whether the Earl was of Opinion that the E-
 state he enjoy'd, which consisted chiefly in Ab-
 bey-lands, ought to be employ'd to the Uses the
 Donors

Donors originally intended them, viz. in Works of Charity and Hospitality, or whether it proceeded from the Benevolence of his Nature, never were Lands given to maintain Hospitality more strictly apply'd to that Purpose : And the Family was not more fam'd for Acts of Generosity, than for their Oeconomy, and the good Orders observ'd in it ; but what was most wonderful in that Reign, amidst all this Affluence and Plenty, there was not a Gentleman more remarkable for his Sobriety, Temperance, and publick Spirit, than the Lord *Russel*, the Heir Apparent of these vast Possessions : And whatever Errors he might commit in Politicks, his Enemies are ready to acknowledge he always acted upon Principle, and according to the Dictates of his Conscience. It was his firm Belief that the Protestant Religion would be in extreme Hazard under a popish Prince, and therefore he did, with all his Might, promote the Exclusion of the Duke of York. And such was his Power and Interest in the House of Commons, that he brought them over entirely to his Sentiments. The Bill pass'd the Commons, and was by himself, the principal Promoter of it, carried up to the Lords, where, meeting with a Repulse, it is said he then meditated the bringing that about by Force, which he found was not to be obtain'd in a legal Way ; but however that be, it is certain his Zeal was very great for the Exclusion Bill, as appears by that Expression of his when the Lords rejected it, viz. *That had his own Father been one of those who refus'd to pass the Bill, he would have been the first Man that should have impeach'd him of High Treason.*

My Lord was a Gentleman of good Address, chearful and affable to all Men, and of a very discerning Spirit ; he did not use many Words, but was a very weighty Speaker : The Opinion
Men

Men had of his Wisdom and Merit, made him generally well heard and attended to; and he did in a manner govern the Debates in the House of Commons while he sat there.

He did not dissemble his Opinions in Politicks; he believ'd that Subjects might procure of their Prince by Force, whatever they judg'd necessary to their Preservation, according to the receiv'd Maxim that Kings were made for the People, and not the People for them. And when the Prince ceases to be the Minister of God for Good, and seeks to destroy the People he should protect, his Subjects are absolv'd from their Allegiance.

And so tenacious was he of these Principles, that tho' his good Friends *Dr. Tillotson*, and *Dr. Burnet*, who assisted his Lordship in his Preparation for Death, us'd their utmost Endeavours to bring him over to the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, he held fast his Opinion to the last.

It is generally thought the Paper he left with the Sheriffs was drawn up by another Hand, there appearing more Art in it than was suitable to his Lordship's known Sincerity: His Death was look'd upon by some as a just Judgment, in having so violently pursu'd the Earl of *Stafford* to his Grave; and not satisfy'd with his Life, oppos'd the remitting the barbarous Part of the Sentence, and even question'd his Majesty's Power to change the Punishment to beheading, tho' this was a Favour that had been seldom denied to any Nobleman.

I cannot but take Notice in this Place of an Assertion of our Pretenders to secret History: They tell us that the Executioner had Direction to use my Lord *Russel* ill, and accordingly he wounded him in the Shoulder, and that his Lordship got up and expostulated the Matter with him; but the numerous Spectators still living can testify that the first Stroke depriv'd his Lordship of
all

all Sense and Motion, and the two next sever'd his Head from his Body, both which were deliver'd to his Friends, who attended to receive them.

The late Bishop of *Rochester*, in his Narrative of this Conspiracy, gives this Account of his Lordship's being seduc'd into it. *My Lord* (says he) *was carried away, beyond his Duty and Allegiance, into this traiterous Enterprize, by a vain Air of Popularity, and a wild Suspicion of losing a great Estate, by an imaginary Return of Popery, whereby he was the more easily seduc'd by the wicked Teachers of that most Antichristian Doctrine, which has been the Cause of so many Rebellions, and was so conformable to his Presbyterian Education, viz. That it is lawful to resist and rise against Sovereign Princes, for the Preservation of Religion.*

Captain WALCOT'S CHARACTER.

The Captain was an old Officer in *Cromwel's* Army, who, after Pardon and Indemnity receiv'd, and a plentiful Estate secur'd to him by the King's Restauration, was nevertheless actually engag'd in all the Plots against the Government ever since, and particularly in that of *Ireland*, some Years before this, to surprize the Castle of *Dublin*. He was introduc'd by the Lord *Howard*, under the Character of a stout and able Officer, into a strict Familiarity with the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, from whom he never departed till his Death, accompanying him in his Flight into *Holland*; and returning thence with his Corps, he and *Ferguson* having this peculiar Mark of his Kindness, to be made Legatees in his last Will and Testament, as his special Friends. *Bishop of Rochester's Narrative of the Conspiracy, Page 22.*

SIR THOMAS ARMSTRONG'S CHARACTER.

Sir *Thomas* was a debauch'd Atheistical Bravo, one of those who, with an Hypocrisy peculiar to that Age, would have pass'd for one of the most forward Reformers of Church and State, while they themselves, both in their Practice and Opinions, were the greatest Corrupters of Virtue and all good Manners: *Bp. Ro. p. 22.*

*The Execution of ALGERNOON SIDNEY, Esq;
on Friday the 7th of December 1683.*

HIS Majesty having been pleased to remit all the Sentence but Beheading, he was brought to a Scaffold erected, for that purpose, on *Tower-Hill*, where, having deliver'd the following Paper to the Sheriff, his Head was sever'd from his Body.

*Men, Brethren, and Fathers; Friends, Countrymen,
and Strangers,*

It may be expected that I should now say some great Matters unto you; but the Rigour of the Season, and the Infirmities of my Age, increased by a close Imprisonment of above five Months, do not permit me.

Moreover, we live in an Age that maketh Truth pass for Treason: I dare not say any thing contrary unto it, and the Ears of those that are about me will probably be found too tender to hear it. My Tryal and Condemnation do sufficiently evidence this.

West, Rumsey, and Keyling, who were brought to prove the Plot, said no more of me, than that they knew me not; and some others equally unknown unto me, had used my Name, and that of some others, to give a little Reputation unto their
F f Designs.

Designs. The Lord *Howard* is too infamous by his Life, and the many Perjuries not to be deny'd, or rather sworn by himself, to deserve mention ; and being a single Witness would be of no value, tho' he had been of unblemished Credit, or had not seen and confessed that the Crimes committed by him would be pardon'd only for committing more ; and even the Pardon promised could not be obtain'd till the Drudgery of Swearing was over.

This being laid aside, the whole matter is reduced to the Papers said to be found in my Closet by the King's Officers, without any other Proof of their being written by me, than what is taken from Suppositions upon the Similitude of an Hand that is easily counterfeited, and which hath been lately declared in the Lady *Car's* Case to be no lawful Evidence in criminal Causes.

But if I had been seen to write them, the matter would not be much alter'd. They plainly appear to relate unto a large Treatise written long since in Answer to *Filmer's* Book, which, by all intelligent Men, is thought to be grounded upon wicked Principles, equally pernicious unto Magistrates and People.

If he might publish unto the World his Opinion, That all Men are born under a necessity derived from the Laws of God and Nature, to submit unto an Absolute Kingly Government, which could be restrained by no Law, or Oath ; and that he that hath the Power, whether he came unto it by Creation, Election, Inheritance, Usurpation, or any other way, had the Right ; and none must oppose his Will, but the Persons and Estates of his Subjects must be indispensably subject unto it ; I know not why I might not have published my Opinion to the contrary, without the Breach of any Law I have yet known.

I might

I might as freely as he publickly have declared my Thoughts, and the Reasons upon which they were ground; and I am perswaded to believe, that God had left Nations unto the Liberty of setting up such Governments as best pleased themselves.

That Magistrates were set up for the Good of Nations, not Nations for the Honour or Glory of Magistrates.

That the Right and Power of Magistrates in every Country, was that which the Laws of that Country made it to be.

That those Laws were to be observed, and the Oaths taken by them, having the Force of a Contract between Magistrate and People, could not be violated without danger of dissolving the whole Fabrick.

That Usurpation could give no Right, and the most dangerous of all Enemies unto Kings were they, who, raising their Power to an exorbitant Height, allowed unto Usurpers all the Rights belonging unto it.

That such Usurpations being seldom compass'd without the Slaughter of the Reigning Person, or Family, the worst of all Villanies was thereby rewarded with the most glorious Privileges.

That if such Doctrines were received, they would stir up Men to the Destruction of Princes with more Violence, than all the Passions that have hitherto raged in the Hearts of the most unruly.

That none could be safe, if such a Reward were proposed unto any that could destroy them.

That few would be so gentle as to spare even the best, if by their Destruction a wild Usurper could become God's Anointed; and by the most execrable Wickedness invest himself with that divine Character.

This is the Scope of the whole Treatise ; the Writer gives such Reasons as at present did occur unto him, to prove it. This seems to agree with the Doctrines of the most revered Authors of all Times, Nations, and Religions. The best and wisest of Kings have ever acknowledg'd it. The present King of *France* hath declared that Kings have that happy want of Power, that they can do nothing contrary to the Laws of their Country, and grounds his Quarrel with the King of *Spain*, *Anno* 1667. upon that Principle. King *James*, in his Speech to the Parliament, *An.* 1603. doth in the highest degree assert it : The Scripture seems to declare it. If nevertheless the Writer was mistaken, he might have been refuted by Law, Reason, and Scripture ; and no Man, for such Matters, was ever otherwise punished, than by being made to see his Error ; and it hath not (as I think) been ever known that they had been refer'd to the Judgment of a Jury, composed of Men utterly unable to comprehend them.

But there was little of this in my Case ; the Extravagance of my Prosecutors goes higher : The above-mention'd Treatise was never finish'd, nor could be in many Years, and most probably would never have been. So much as is of it was written long since, never reviewed nor shewn unto any Man ; and the fiftieth part of it was produced, and not the tenth of that offered to be read. That which was never known unto those who are said to have conspired with me, was said to be intended to stir up the People in Prosecution of the Designs of those Conspirators.

When nothing of particular Application unto Time, Place, or Person, could be found in it, (as hath ever been done by those who endeavour'd to raise Insurrections) all was supplied by *Inimendo's*.

Whatsoever is said of the Expulsion of *Tarquin*; the Insurrection against *Nero*; the Slaughter of *Caligula*, or *Domitian*; the Translation of the Crown of *France* from *Meroven's* Race unto *Pepin*; and from his Descendants unto *Hugh Capet*, and the like, applied by *Innuendo* unto the King.

They have not consider'd, that if such Acts of State be not good, there is not a King in the World that has any Title to the Crown he bears; nor can have any, unless he could deduce his Pedigree from the eldest Son of *Noah*, and shew that the Succession had still continu'd in the eldest of the eldest Line, and been so deduced to him.

Every one may see what Advantage this would be to all the Kings of the World; and whether, that failing, it were not better for them to acknowledge they had received their Crowns by the Consent of willing Nations; or to have no better Title unto them than Usurpation and Violence, which, by the same ways, may be taken from them.

But I was not long since told that I must die, or the Plot must die.

Lest the Means of destroying the best Protestants in *England* should fail, the Bench must be fill'd with such as had been Blemishes to the Bar.

None but such as these would have advised with the King's Council, of the Means of bringing a Man to Death, suffer'd a Jury to be pack'd by the King's Solicitors and the Under-Sheriff, admit of Jurymen who were not Freeholders, receive such Evidence as is above-mention'd, refuse a Copy of an Indictment, or to suffer the Statute of 46 *Edw. III* to be read, that doth expressly enact, it should in no Case be denied unto any Man, upon any Occasion whatsoever, overrule the most important Points of Law without hearing. And whereas the Statute 25 *Edw. III*,

upon which they said I should be tried, doth reserve unto the Parliament all Constructions to be made in Points of Treason, they could assume unto themselves not only a Power to make Constructions, but such Constructions as neither agree with Law, Reason, or common Sense.

By these Means I am brought to this Place. The Lord forgive these Practices, and avert the Evils that threaten the Nation from them. The Lord sanctify these my Sufferings unto me; and though I fall as a Sacrifice unto Idols, suffer not Idolatry to be establish'd in this Land. Bless thy People and save them. Defend thy own Cause, and defend those that defend it. Stir up such as are faint, direct those that are willing, confirm those that waver, give Wisdom and Integrity unto All. Order all Things so as may most redound unto thine own Glory. Grant that I may die glorifying thee for all thy Mercies, and that at the last thou hast permitted me to be singled out as a Witness of thy Truth; and even by the Confession of my Opposers, for that *Old Cause* in which I was from my Youth engag'd, and for which thou hast often and wonderfully declar'd thyself.

*The Execution of JAMES HOLLOWAY, the
Day of April, 1684.*

His Petition to his Majesty after Execution
awarded.

Most great and gracious Sovereign,

I Your Majesty's now close Prisoner in Newgate,
and condemn'd for my Crimes, which I have confess'd myself guilty of, in a Paper of my own writing, deliver'd to the Right Honourable the Lords of your Majesty's Privy Council, in which is a true and faithful

ful Account of all that I know concerning the late Plot, with the manner how I was drawn into it, and the Reasons why I did not come in at the first Discovery, and cast myself at your Majesty's Feet for Mercy, which I hope your Majesty hath perused, and find no Cause to think I have reserved any thing undiscovered; for when I was first taken, I resolv'd to declare the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth, which I have here done, and will own to be true, before any that shall offer to contradict it, or say there was no Plot; and if any thing more occurs to my Memory, will not fail to declare it. I have now nothing to say for myself why I should not be executed according to Condemnation, but do most humbly prostrate myself at your Majesty's Feet for Mercy, acknowledging my hearty Sorrow for all that I have been guilty of, and remain in hopes, that that Fountain of Mercy which hath so abundantly flowed from your Majesty's sacred Breast ever since your happy Restauration is not yet dry, but that there are some Drops left for me, which if I may be so happy as to obtain, I shall always, whilst I live, endeavour to approve myself your Majesty's most true and faithful Subject; and, I hope, will answer the Ends of a Pardon. Which that I may so do, and for your Majesty's long Life, peaceable and happy Reign, shall every Pray, &c.

JAMES HOLLOWAY.

The Discourse that passed between the Sheriffs of London and JAMES HOLLOWAY, at the Time of his Execution.

Holloway. May I have Liberty, Sir, to speak what I desire to speak?

Sheriff Daniel. Yes, Sir, you may. What you have, I suppose, will be by way of Discovery to the World of what you are brought here to die for.

Holloway. You have my Paper, Captain.

Capt. Richardson. Yes.

Sheriff Daniel. Have it you about you?

Capt. Richardson. I have it in my Pocket.

Sheriff Daniel. Shew it him (which he did.) Is it your own Hand-writing?

Holloway. Yes, Sir.

Sheriff Daniel. Is it your own Hand-writing?

Holloway. That is my own Hand-writing-----

A Discovery of what I knew I made to his Majesty, but a great many People think that I have not discover'd what I knew, but I have discover'd what I knew of the Plot, and I am heartily sorry I was any way concern'd in that way, as to the endeavouring any thing by Arms. I do think several things have been ill manag'd in *England*, there have been many things done against the King and the Kingdom's Interest, and I wish the King was well satisfied of it, and that a Course might be taken to prevent it. And, I think, one way to prevent plotting (according to my weak Capacity) is, that his Majesty would be pleas'd to call a Parliament, and pass an Act of Oblivion for all Plotters whatsoever. There was a damnable Popish Plot, and I look upon the stifling of that, to be the only Cause that any Man did any thing in this. Had all the Popish Plotters been-----

Sheriff Daniel. By the way, Sir, how do you know it was stifled?

Holloway. Sir, we have known that the Laws could not be suffered against them, and the Parliament could not be suffered in the Prosecution of them. I wish the King would consult his own Safety, and the Safety of the Nation, and that an Act of Oblivion might pass, for I believe there are many concern'd; and that there might be an End put to all News-mongers, that write into the Country Letters of News; I look upon that

that to do the King and the Kingdom more Hurt than any thing else.

Capt. Richardson. Mr. *Holloway*, I beg one thing, have you discover'd all? I desire you would declare those (you did not name their Names) that, if Occasion were, would be ready; but that you had not spoke to them. *Wade* and others were to maintain their Posts.

Holloway. No, Sir, I had not spoke to them.

Capt. Richardson. This you did say.

Holloway. Yes, Sir.

Sheriff Daniel. And that you promis'd a Number of Men in this Design.

Holloway. Promise it! I did propose I might do it.

Capt. Richardson. What do you know of the contriving the Business of the Rye, for lopping, or taking off the King and the Duke?

Holloway. I was not with them till after the Time a good while; till about a Month or six Weeks after the Time I was not acquainted with them. I look'd upon it as a Business not likely to take any Effect at all, for I could never find above five that were concern'd in it.

Sheriff Dashwood. But did they not tell you at some one Time they were concern'd in such a Thing?

Holloway. Yes, Sir, they did so. They told me more than once.

Sheriff Daniel. In *Bristol* or in *London*?

Holloway. In *London*.

Sheriff Dashwood. Mr. *Holloway*, you have a Liberty to say any thing you have a mind to.

Holloway. I have little to say more upon that Account. I am sorry I was concern'd in that way, to do such a thing as to take up Arms. But as to the Design I had, and the Plot I was acquainted with, it was nothing against the King's Life.

Capt.

Capt. Richardson. Sure it was the same Plot, while there was a Design to seize the King, and take him from evil Company.

Holloway. We had a Design to take them that were guilty of the Popish Plot, and were Enemies to the Privileges and Liberties of the Subject.

Sheriff Daniel. And as a thing that tended to that, the King was to be seiz'd till he consented to these things?

Holloway. It was suppos'd by them that told me of it, that many things that have been acted of late, were done contrary to the King's Knowledge, and that the King knew nothing of it; and I am perfectly of that Belief too, that many things are done contrary to the King's Knowledge. And I was farther inform'd, that if the King could be but once acquainted with these things, that the King would presently come in to those that should stand for his Assistance, and give up all those Offenders to Justice.

Sheriff Daniel. And if you could not tell him otherwise, you would take him first and tell him afterwards.

Holloway. You may intepret it how you please, Sir. It was that all such Differences amongst the King's Subjects might be prevented for the future; for I believe there were never greater Differences in the Spirits of Men, though some think the Times were never better than now, because all things go according to their own Humour; but I suppose many in the Nation are satisfied that many things have been done contrary to Law.

Sheriff Daniel. Was it fit you should set up for a Politician, or a Statesman?

Holloway. No, Sir, I did not take it upon me; that was for the Scribblers that write News. I do not

not reckon myself worthy to direct in such a Case.

Sheriff Daniel. Mr. *Holloway*, you don't remember to give the Names of those Persons you spake of.

Holloway. It would be a Folly for me, Sir, to go to abuse Men that I did not know whether they would be concern'd or no.

Sheriff Dashwood. But that there were Persons that would be concern'd, you say.

Holloway. That we did think so; and if we should name every one that we thought would be concern'd, I believe we might name three Parts of London.

Capt. Richardson. I hope you are in a great Mistake there.

Holloway. For that Design, I believe above three Parts would be for. I never had any Design but for the King and the Kingdom's Interest; though I know that Design that was carried on by *Rumsey* and *West* was a very heinous Design, but I believe they would not have found many in *England* that would have been for it; I never heard of above five for it.

Sheriff Daniel. Were you acquainted with *Walcot*?

Holloway. I was in his Company once or twice, but I heard him speak against it.

Sheriff Daniel. Was you ever with my Lord *Shaftsbury*?

Holloway. No, Sir, I was never with my Lord *Shaftsbury* but once, and that was about a Design I was promoting in Parliament, about the Linnen Manufacture.

Sheriff Daniel. Was you ever with my Lord of *Essex*?

Holloway. Never but once, and that was about that Business.

Sheriff

Sheriff Daniel. Were you ever acquainted with my Lord *Russel*?

Holloway. Never with him at all.

Sheriff Dashwood. You were saying you knew the Names of five; who were they that were to be concern'd in that Matter?

Holloway. I have declar'd them to his Majesty.

Sheriff Daniel. Did you know *Ferguson*?

Holloway. I knew him, Sir, but I know *Ferguson* to be against any such Design, and, indeed, we did look upon it to be a thing that would come to no Effect.

Sheriff Dashwood. Do you mean the seizing the King?

Holloway. I mean the Infurrection.

Sheriff Daniel. Did you know of any Money raised or promised to buy Arms?

Holloway. No, Sir, never. I heard of Money that was to be raised, but I did not know who was to raise it.

Sheriff Daniel. It is not our Business to ask you many Questions, if you have any thing to say you may.

Sheriff Dashwood. If you have any thing to say for the Discharge of your Conscience, do it.

Holloway. I thank God, I never had any Design against his Majesty's Person; what I intended was only for the good of the King and Kingdom, and I did take it that it would have been so; and I am very sorry that any things should have gone contrary to Law, as they have done; and I hope care will be taken to prevent any such things for the future.

Sheriff Dashwood. The King hath said he will govern according to Law; he hath done so, and will do so.

Holloway. That I leave to the Judgment of all; many know better than I.

Sheriff

Sheriff Daniel. Such glossy Pretences are very strange, to carry on such a Design, for the seizing a Sovereign Prince, that you have sworn Allegiance to, or ought to have done.

Holloway. I think those Pretences, the Grounds that we went upon, were no glossy Pretences at all.

Sheriff Daniel. I think it is, that when things are not done as you would have them, you must immediately rebel.

Holloway. No, Sir, not that ; we did not design a Rebellion.

Sheriff Daniel. The seizing the King is certainly a Rebellion, and one of the highest Steps of Rebellion.

Holloway. We say this, that all Ways were used against Protestants ; several sham Plots ; but no Justice could be had against Papists.

Sheriff Daniel. Several of them were executed here.

Holloway. There were some executed at first, Sir ; but afterwards, when so many great Persons came to be concern'd, there was nothing could be had against them.

Sheriff Daniel. There were mighty Searches made about London, for that great Number of Papists talkt on.

Holloway. There were a great many seiz'd, Sir ; but what became of them ?

Sheriff Daniel. Generally try'd, and brought to condign Punishment. You would not have had every Irish Man believ'd against honest Men. Some People were call'd Papists in Masquerade.

Holloway. Irish Men were believ'd against Protestants, after they had turn'd about, and had sworn against Papists, they were believ'd then. It was well observ'd, that while the Irish Evidences did continue in the first Discourse of the Popish Plot,

Plot, and in the first Evidence, then, it is well known; they were slighted, and all cry'd out against; but when they came to swear against Protestants, then things were alter'd presently.

Sheriff Dashwood. I pray God all Mens Eyes may be open'd to see what is done.

Holloway. I would not advise any one to go that way to work, to do any thing by Force of Arms; and I wish the King's Eyes may be open'd, that he may see his Enemies from his Friends; and I think he hath cause to look for them near his Home.

Have you any Papers to deliver?

Holloway. I have no other Papers; what Paper I wrote the Council had. I did write a Paper that it might be some Satisfaction to the Opinions of People of what I knew, that care might be taken to prevent other Opinions, if there were an Error. And that Paper the Council had; though they took it very heinously of me that I should presume to write such a thing. I look'd upon it that I could not do more for the King, than to acquaint him of what I knew, that if they were misinform'd, there might be care taken to alter the Opinion.

Sheriff Dashwood. You have deliver'd no Paper to your Wife, or to any Friends?

Holloway. That, I suppose, is well known to the Goaler.

Sheriff Dashwood. You know better than any Body whether you have or not. You may say ay or no.

Holloway. I could not be admitted to write any, for I could not have Pen and Ink to write any thing but this.

Sheriff Dashwood. And you have not deliver'd any Paper?

Holloway.

Holloway. I have written to some Friends. I know it is suppos'd that I had deliver'd a Copy of that Paper that the Council had ; and, I think, if it had been known publickly, it would have done no great Hurt.

Sheriff Daniel. You speak of several Peoples Opinions ; what do you mean ?

Holloway. As concerning the Times, Sir, the Management of Affairs.

Sheriff Daniel. Pray, Sir, under what Denomination do you reckon yourself ?

Holloway. I reckon myself a Protestant.

Sheriff Daniel. Of what Sort ? Of the Church of England, or of the Dissenters from them ?

Holloway. I am not a Dissenter from the Church of England.

Sheriff Daniel. Nor joyned with them ?

Holloway. Nor joyned with them altogether. But I thought that if any Good had been design'd for England, that I had done enough to merit a Pardon ; for I had wrote so much of Truth, and was so fair and plain in it, that I thought it would have merited a Pardon, if any Good were design'd. If I could have discover'd more, that had been for the King and Kingdom's Interest, I would have done it ; for I did not do it rashly, but consider'd of it some time before I gave it in. I hope it will be a Satisfaction that there was such a Plot ; what other Men's Opinions might be of it I can't tell, but leave every one to their own Judgment. It was fear'd that arbitrary Government and Popery was design'd ; and truly, I think, at this present time, by what I can understand, that there is little better design'd.

Capt. Richardson. This is reflecting upon the Government.

Sheriff Dashiwood. This is not fit.

Holloway.

Holloway. I say it is contrary to the King's Knowledge, Sir.

Sheriff Daniel. Sir, we have neither a Reprieve nor a Pardon for you.

Holloway. I don't expect it, Sir; if Truth and Plainness would have merited a Pardon, I might have had it.

Capt. Richardson. The King is the best Judge of his own Mercy.

Holloway. Had the Law been executed against Popish Offenders, I had never been concern'd in any Plot.

Capt. Richardson. You know the King was very earnest in that, to have the Laws put in execution against them; and that he mov'd it to the Parliament to have it done. Have you any thing else to say that more nearly concerns you?

Holloway. I wish I could have been any otherways serviceable to the King and Kingdom, before I left them. I should have been very willing; and it was always my Design, to promote the King and Kingdom's Interest more than my own.

Sheriff Daniel. Well, Sir, you say some things very well, but others ill.

Holloway. What I say, Sir, I leave to Peoples Judgments; if I am mistaken, I hope they will be otherwise.

Sheriff Daniel. Well, Sir, have you any thing farther to say?

Holloway. No, Sir.

Sheriff Dashwood. I suppose you us'd to keep a Meeting, or Club, at *Bristol*, with several there.

Holloway. I know some have represented a Club very bad in *Bristol*. A Club we had about the Choice of Parliament-Men.

Sheriff Daniel. The Horse-shoe Club.

Sheriff Dashwood. Or the Mermaid Club.

Holloway.

Holloway. The Horse-shoe Club it was only for carrying on the Election of Parliament-Men. If all such things should be called Clubs, there were greater Clubs kept by another Party.

Sheriff Daniel. Well, Sir, you had best fit your self for Death, you have no long time to live.

Then he open'd his Bible, and read *Psalms* 62. and part of two Chapters in the *Hebrews*, and afterwards ask'd the Sheriffs if he might have Liberty to pray; which being granted, he prayed.

(Then being asked, Who was in Council at the Delivery of the Letter? He answer'd,)

Holloway. There was the Duke of York, and the Lord-Keeper; I did not deliver it: It was intercepted in a Letter, or given in. I did not know how it was; for I have been kept so, that I had not the Liberty to see any Friend, 'till yesterday in the Afternoon I had the Liberty of two or three Hours with my Wife.

Capt. Richardson. You had your Wife with you before, and your Sister, and some other Friends.

Holloway. But that was never without a Keeper, Sir.

Capt. Richardson. You are in the right.

Sh. Daniel. They do not use to allow Men under your Circumstances such a Liberty as you talk of.

Holloway. I pray God that no other People may concern themselves with publick Affairs, out of their own way; and that the Scribblers might be put down, for they do more Hurt to the Kingdom than any thing else.

Sh. Daniel. Have you any thing more to say?

Holloway. No, Sir.

Sh. Daniel. Then God have Mercy upon your Soul.

The PAPER deliver'd to the Sheriffs.

Apr. 26. 1684.

To stop the Mouths, &c. of all Pamphleteers, and News-Scribblers, who have done more Prejudice to his Majesty and Kingdoms, by their impudent Endeavours to sham all Plots, and to fill the Country with false News, than they will ever be able to retrieve; and to satisfy all I leave behind me, I thought good to draw up a short Account of what I knew of the late *Protestant Plot*, how I came to be concern'd, what induced me to it, and how far I was concerned; also my now Opinion of it, &c.

It was my Unhappiness to have too publick a Spirit for one of my Capacity, and as soon as I came to be a free Man, to prefer the King's and Kingdom's Interest before my own; for having some Knowledge in Linnen-Cloth, upon the Prohibition of *French Linnens*, &c. I thought the Linnen-Manufacture might be brought to Perfection in *England*, to the very great Advantage of the Poor, and so made some Tryal of it in *Warwickshire*, where I employed some Hundreds of Poor, and in about eighteen Months time brought it to such Perfection, that I could make as good Cloth as the *French*, and so well imitate it, that few could know it from *French*; but the Prohibition being not so strict as at first seem'd to be, *French Cloth* was brought in cheaper than ever; so that I was forced to leave off with Loss; but considering, that by an Act of Parliament for its Encouragement, in a Method I had thought upon, it might be settled much to the King's and Kingdom's Interest, advancing the King's Revenue near two Hundred Thousand Pounds a Year, and would have employed about eighty Thousand poor People,

ple, and about forty Thousand Acres of Land; concerning which I was (about *June 1680.*) brought acquainted with the Earl of *Essex*, to whom I related the Business; who immediately had me to the (now) Earl of *Rochester*, then President of the Treasury, and he had me to Sir *Edward Deering*, who (when they understood my Proposals) gave me something to bear my Charges, and encouraged me to attend the next Parliament, to endeavour the Promotion thereof; which I did almost the whole Session, and brought to the Speaker's Chamber some of the Cloth, which was compared with *French*, &c. and the Design well-approv'd of by all; which brought me into too large Acquaintance for one of my Capacity; from whom I heard too much (as hath proved, for my Interest) of things that were then in hand concerning the *Popish Plot*, which prevented the doing any thing as to my Design. So after that I was encouraged to attend the *Oxford* Parliament, which I did; and was desired there by the Earl of *Clarendon*, and others, to prepare a Bill; the Heads of which I drew up, tho' it proved to no purpose but my Ruin. I wish my King and Country might reap the Benefit of what I pay so dear for. The more I knew during my Attendance on those two Parliaments, the more I was desirous to know; and did by some Scribblers and Newsmongers constantly know most publick Affairs that were acted, which they undertook to represent according to their own Humour; many Actions being represented very illegal, much against the Protestant Interest, in favour of Papists, &c. shamming the *Popish Plot*, and laying Sham-Plots upon Protestants; abusing the Rights and Privileges of the Subject, the Truth of which I leave to the Judgment of all; but hearing many such-like things, was easily prevail'd with to be concern'd in the

Plot, according as it was proposed to me, viz.

About *July* 1682. I met with a Person who then being come from *London*, gave me a Relation at large concerning the Election of Sheriffs that had been in *June*, the Manner of which is well known to all; he represented it to me as a very illegal Action, and that there was a devilish Design of the Papists in it, to cut off the King's Friends, the stirring Men in both the last Parliaments, as to the Prosecution of the *Popish Plot*, who I always took to be both the King's and the Nation's Friends. That there were Witnesses had been ready a long time to swear against them, but they could not get Jurors to believe them, but now they had, by Force of Arms, &c. got Sheriffs who would find Juries to believe them, and so hang them up at their Pleasure; that there was none but bad Council about the King, who kept all ill Actions from his Knowledge; and if they proceeded to swear *North* and *Rich* at *Michaelmas*, and to chuse Lord Mayor, as they had done Sheriffs, the Protestant-Gentry were resolved (naming some) to remedy what was design'd, by an Insurrection in several Parts of *England*; and, if possible, to get the King off from his evil Council, and bring all Popish Offenders to Justice, saying, That they were sure that, when the King knew the Occasion of their Rising, he would presently give up all Offenders, and come in to them. That it should begin in *November*, in *London*, *Bristol*, *Exeter*, *Taunton*, *Chester*, *York*, *New-Castle*; and that we should hear more of it in a Month's time; therefore desired we might consider how it might be managed in *Bristol*; which we did; and concluded, that *Bristol*, with about 350 Men, might be easily secur'd by a Surprise, without the Bloodshed of one Man. About a Month after that, came the Person he mention'd we should hear more by;

by ; but he could declare no more than the former did, only that the Design went on, and there would be timely Notice given to all Parts ; but we heard of nothing but Disappointments and Delays, putting it off from time to time. In *April* I heard of another Design against the King, and Duke of York, as they were to come from *Newmarket*, some time in *March* ; but when I enquir'd into that, found it was carried on by three or four ; and never could hear the Names of above five that were for it. When I heard it, I declar'd my Abhorrence of any such thing, and that I was confident none in our Parts would be for such a base Action. After that, I enquired farther into it, and could find, that although it was intended to be done six Weeks before, that they had only a Parcel of Arms ready ; and that they had neither Men nor Horses ; but one said, if they could have raised 6 or 800 *l.* to have bought Horses, and also something to encourage Men, they should have found Men enough ; so that I look'd upon that only to be the Design of five or six Persons, and no way likely to be acted ; but the general Design for the Insurrection was carried on by others ; who, tho' they had made a great Stir in the Nation, trying the Inclinations of People, and had treated with the *Scots* and *Irish*, as I heard, who were to be ready at the same Time, yet were never come to any Resolution, as to any Time, or Method, before all was discover'd ; tho' they had been eleven Months contriving of it, from the Time I first heard of it. This, I hope, will be enough to satisfy all People that there was a Plot ; I mention no Names here, having given his Majesty a more large Account of what I knew of it, mentioning the Names of all that I knew concerned. The Arguments before mention'd, with many others to the same Effect, not only soon pre-

vail'd with me, but made me indeed think it my Duty to do what I could for my King and Country's Safety; being then fully persuaded, that not only Popery, but Arbitrary Government was intended; not then considering (as I have since consider'd) how much Bloodshed it might have caus'd in the Nation; for then I thought all would have been ended in little time, supposing things to be as to me was reported. But I do now declare my hearty Sorrow for my yielding thereto, and acting therein; (tho' I can safely say I was not for taking the King's Life, but wholly for his Preservation) yet am satisfied that it might have caused very much Bloodshed in the Nation, and am glad it did not take effect. Also I declare, that I am satisfied it was a very great Sin against God, not only in distrusting his Providence, but in offering to take the Work out of his Hand, who knows the Hearts, Thoughts, and Actions of All, tho' never so secret; whose Mercy and Pardon I most humbly beg, and trust shall have; and in Confidence thereof, (thro' the Merits of the Blood of our Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus) can willingly die. Nothing (next to this, and all other my Sins) is more Trouble to me than the Thoughts how (dying) I shall leave all my Relations and Friends in Trouble concerning my worldly Affairs; being, by reason of this unhappy Concern, not in such a Posture as they should be: So that by my Death, my dearest Friends will not only be left in great Trouble, but lie under the Censure of many, none understanding how Things are; my Wife and Children ruin'd, and my Creditors great Losers; whereas might I have been thought worthy to live, I should have taken the Trouble off them all, and hope in time to have paid every Man to a Penny; for I can from my Heart say, that as I hope for Salvation, I never design'd

design'd any Fraud to any Man, but to pay every Man his due. I have heard that some should say, I took up Money at Interest to carry on the Plot ; which I disown ; for I never was at any Charge therein more than common Expences, nor never heard of any Money raised upon that Account ; tho' I heard of ten Thousand Pounds that were to be raised for the *Scots*, but suppose it was not done. I bless God I am pretty well satisfied, and hope shall be fully, as to my future State, and can willingly leave the World ; but upon the Account of my Friends and Creditors, considering the Condition they will be left in, could gladly have liv'd some Time, that I might have taken off that Scandal that I fear will be laid upon me when I am gone ; but God knows my Heart, I am free, and always was from any Thoughts of Fraud or Deceit.

I am satisfied that all Means that could be thought on have been used to get as much out of me as possible, but had it not been my Resolution to declare all that I knew concerning the Plot, and also to do what in me lay to prevent all Plottings for the future, that there might be an End put to such Heats, Differences, and Heart-burnings, that is, one against another ; that his Majesty and his Subjects might live in such Love and Union, as ought to be between a Prince and his People, I had not wrote what I did ; for I was never a Man to be wrought upon by Severity, and what I wrote was not without due Consideration, being nothing but Truth. I do suppose, that making such a full and large Confession at first, and some Expressions that might be observ'd in my Letters which I perceive were intercepted, may cause some Thoughts that I still reserve some Persons undiscover'd ; but as to my Confession, it was not rashly done, I had had some Weeks

at Sea to call things to mind; and as for Persons, I gave a true Account, and of all Passages I could remember, though others do and may come into mind. What I suppose was observ'd in my Letters, might be some foolish Expressions concerning some of my Acquaintance; and that I would betray no Friend, meaning, that no Severity should cause me to accuse any Friends falsely to save myself, although (if I had thought the accusing of a Number of Persons would have saved my Life, and had been one that would do any such thing to save Life) I had the most Cause of any Man; for when I first absconded, those in *Bristol*, and elsewhere, that were my most intimate Acquaintance, refused to do any thing for me; nay, would not receive Letters when I wrote to them, fearing they should be found to hold Correspondence with me. When I gave in my Confession, I stood not upon Terms of a Pardon, being confident, if Truth would merit Mercy from the King, I should have his Pardon, and that it was the only way to gain Mercy with God. I find already that People are passing their Censures upon me, some one way, and some another, for my not pleading, and accepting of another Tryal when it was offer'd, saying that I confess'd the whole Indictment; which I disown; for I said thus, What I was guilty of I had confess'd to his Majesty, and wholly depended upon his Mercy; besides, I had some other Reasons why I did not plead, which at present I conceal; and also why I did not speak what I intended. More I may say at the Place of Execution, before I leave the World, which will be according as I find things; but as to a Discovery of any more Persons (I cannot) than has been already mention'd. Should I mention any whom I thought would have been concern'd, I may much abuse them, tho' I believe many thousands in the Nation

Nation would have appear'd, for the Reasons afore-mention'd, which caus'd me to be concern'd. I doubt not, but several that were concern'd, who are, or may be clear'd, for want of sufficient Proof against 'em, or by his Majesty's Mercy, will blame me for confessing what I knew, and not much grieve that I fail'd of a Pardon, or at my Death. But I repent not my Confession; and could I discover more, would do it willingly, tho' I find no Mercy with Man.

JAMES HOLLOWAY.

The Execution of Sir THOMAS ARMSTRONG at Tyburn, on Friday the twentieth of June, 1684.

THE Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, about Nine a-clock in the Morning, coming to Newgate, and demanding their Prisoner, he was forthwith deliver'd to them, and put into a Sledge, and drawn to the Place of Execution, attended by a numerous Guard, and as great a Number of Spectators, of all Degrees and Qualities, as have been seen on such Occasions. Tho' he affected an Air of Courage, yet something of Sullenness and Reserve appear'd in his Countenance.

He employ'd the Time he was drawing to Tyburn in reading *The Whole Duty of Man*, till he came within Sight of the Gallows, and then he laid it by, and with lifted up Hands and Eyes, address'd himself to Heaven, till he came beneath the Tree, where he remain'd about a Quarter of an Hour in the Sledge; before he ascended the Cart that stood ready for him, he desir'd the Sheriff to admit Dr. Tenison to come to him; and having deliver'd a Paper to the Sheriff, the Doctor kneel'd down with the Prisoner, and pray'd with him about a Quarter of an Hour, during all which Time the Prisoner preserv'd a becoming and heroic

roick Countenance, little daunted with the Terror of that Fate he was in view of ; but rising from his Devotions, he pull'd off his Cravat and Hat, which he gave to his Servant who attended him, and had follow'd him by the Sledge-side, when kneeling down himself, he pray'd for a short Time with Fervency and Devotion, begging Pardon of his God for those manifold and crying Sins he had been too often guilty of, and concluded with a Resignation of himself to the God of Heaven and Earth, before whose Judgment-seat he was forthwith to appear, desiring that the whole World would forgive him, with whom he hoped he died in Peace and Charity. Having thus ended these Devotions, he again stood up, and putting off his Periwig, he had a white Cap deliver'd to him, which he put on ; and being soon after ty'd up, the chief of his Discourse was address'd to a Gentleman who stood by him ; and after a short Space, holding up his Hands, he again renew'd his Prayers ; his Visage little changing all the Time, till the very Moment the Cart drew away ; the Executioner having pull'd the Cap over his Eyes, he continu'd his Prayers all the Time, and even whilst he hung, as long as Life was in him, and he had the Command of his Lips ; after he had hung about half an Hour, and the Executioner had divested him of his Apparel, he was cut down according to his Sentence, his privy Members burnt, his Head cut off, and shew'd to the People as that of a Traitor, his Heart and Bowels taken out, and committed to the Flames, and his Body quarter'd into four Parts, which, with his Head, was convey'd back to Newgate, to be dispos'd of according to his Majesty's Pleasure. *

The

* See the late Bishop of Rochester's severe Character of this Gentleman, Page 433, at the Top.

The Execution of the Duke of MONMOUTH, on Wednesday the 15th of July, 1685, on Tower-hill.

THE late Duke of *Monmouth* came from the Tower to the Scaffold, attended by the Bishop of *Ely*, the Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, Dr. *Tenison*, and Dr. *Hooper*; which four the King was graciously pleas'd to send him, as his Assistants to prepare him for Death; and the Duke himself intreated all four of them to accompany him to the Place of Execution, and continue with him to the last. The two Bishops going in the Lieutenant's Coach with him to the Bars, made seasonable and devout Applications to him all the Way; and one of them desir'd him not to be surpriz'd, if they to the very last, upon the Scaffold, renew'd those Exhortations to a particular Repentance, which they had so often repeated before.

At his first coming upon the Scaffold, he look'd for the Executioner, and seeing him, said, Is this the Man to do the Business? Do your Work well.

Then the late Duke of *Monmouth* began to speak, some one or other of the Assistants, during the whole Time, applying themselves to him.

Monmouth. I shall say but very little; I come to die; I die a Protestant of the Church of *England*.

Assistants. My Lord, If you be of the Church of *England*, you must acknowledge the Doctrine of *Non-resistance* to be true.

Monmouth. If I acknowledge the Doctrine of the Church of *England* in general, that includes all.

Assistants. Sir, It is fit to own that Doctrine particularly, with respect to your Case. Here he was much urg'd about that Doctrine of *Non-resistance*, but he repeated in Effect his first Answer.

Then

Then he began, as if he was about to make a premeditated Speech, in this Manner :

Monmouth. I have had a Scandal rais'd upon me about a Woman, a Lady of Virtue and Honour. I will name her ; the Lady *Henrietta Wentworth*. I declare that she is a very virtuous and godly Woman. I have committed no Sin with her ; and that which hath passed betwixt us, was very honest and innocent in the Sight of God.

Assistants. In your Opinion perhaps, Sir, as you have been often told ; (*i. e.* in the *Tower*) but this is not fit Discourse in this Place.

Mr. Sheriff Gostlin. Sir, Were you ever married to her ?

Monmouth. This is not a Time to answer that Question.

Mr. Sheriff Gostlin. Sir, I hoped to have heard of your Repentance for the Treason and Bloodshed which hath been committed.

Monmouth. I die very penitent.

Assistants. My Lord, It is fit to be particular ; and considering the publick Evil you have done, you ought to do as much Good now as possibly you can, by a publick Acknowledgment.

Monmouth. What I have thought fit to say of publick Affairs, is in a Paper which I have sign'd ; I refer to my Paper.

Assistants. My Lord, There is nothing in that Paper about *Resistance*, and you ought to be particular in your Repentance, and to have it well grounded. God give you true Repentance.

Monmouth. I die very penitent, and die with great Chearfulness, for I know I shall go to God.

Assistants. My Lord, You must go to God in his own Way : Sir, Be sure you be truly penitent, and ask Forgiveness of God for the many you have wrong'd.

Monmouth. I am sorry for every one I have wrong'd ; I forgive every Body ; I have had many Enemies, I forgive them all.

Assistants. Sir, Your Acknowledgment ought to be publick and particular.

Monmouth. I am to die ; pray, My Lord----- I refer to my Paper.

Assistants. They are but a few Words that we desire : We only desire an Answer to this Point.

Monmouth. I can bless God that he hath given me so much Grace, that for these two Years last past I have led a Life unlike to my former Course, and in which I have been happy.

Assistants. Sir, Was there no Ill in these two Years ? In these Years, these great Evils have happen'd, and the giving publick Satisfaction is a necessary Part of Repentance ; be pleas'd to own a Derestation of your Rebellion.

Monmouth. I beg your Lordship that you will stick to my Paper.

Assistants. My Lord, as I said before, There is nothing in your Paper about the Doctrine of *Non-resistance*.

Monmouth. I repent of all Things that a true Christian ought to repent of : I am to die ; pray, My Lord-----

Assistants. Then, My Lord, we can only recommend you to the Mercy of God ; but we cannot pray with that Chearfulness and Encouragement as we should, if you had made a particular Acknowledgment.

Monmouth. God be prais'd, I have Encouragement enough in myself : I die with a clear Conscience ; I have wronged no Man.

Assistants. How Sir ! no Man ! Have you not been guilty of Invasion, and of much Blood, which has been shed, and it may be of the Loss of many Souls who follow'd you ? You must needs have wrong'd a great many.

Mon-

Monmouth. I do, Sir, own that, and am sorry for it.

Assistants. Give it the true Name, Sir, and call it Rebellion.

Monmouth. What Name you please, Sir, I am sorry for invading the Kingdom, and for the Blood that has been shed, and for the Souls which may have been lost by my Means; I am sorry it ever happen'd (which he spake softly.)

Mr. Sheriff Vandeput. (To some that stood at a Distance.) He says he is very sorry for invading the Kingdom.

Assistants. We have nothing to add, but to renew the frequent Exhortations we have made to you, to give some Satisfaction for the publick Injuries to the Kingdom: There have been a great many Lives lost by this Resistance of your lawful Prince.

Monmouth. What I have done has been very ill, and I wish with all my Heart it had never been; I never was a Man that delighted in Blood; I was very far from it; I was as cautious in that as any Man was; the Almighty knows how I now die, with all the Joyfulness in the World.

Assistants. God grant you may, Sir, God give you true Repentance.

Monmouth. If I had not true Repentance, I should not so easily have been without the Fear of dying. I shall die like a Lamb.

Assistants. Much may come from natural Courage.

Monmouth. I do not attribute it to my own Nature, for I am fearful, as other Men are; but I have now no Fear, as you may see by my Face; but there is something within me which does it, for I am sure I shall go to God.

Assistants. My Lord, be sure upon good Grounds; Do you repent you of all your Sins, known or unknown,

known, confess'd or not confess'd, of all the Sins which might proceed from Error in Judgment?

Monmouth. In general for all, I do with all my Soul.

Assistants. God Almighty of his infinite Mercy forgive you. Here are great Numbers of Spectators; here are the Sheriffs, they represent the great City, and in speaking to them you speak to the whole City; make some Satisfaction by owning your Crime before them.

He was silent here.

Then all went to solemn Commendatory Prayers, which continu'd for a good Space; the late Duke of *Monmouth* and the Company kneeling, and joining in them with great Fervency.

Prayers being ended, before he and the four who assisted him, were risen from their Knees, he was again earnestly exhorted to a true and thorough Repentance.

After they were risen up, he was exhorted to pray for the King; and was ask'd whether he did not desire to send some dutiful Message to his Majesty, and to recommend his Wife and Children to his Majesty's Favour.

Monmouth. What harm have they done? Do it if you please; I pray for him, and for all Men.

Assistants. Then the Versicles were repeated.

O Lord shew thy Mercy upon us!

Monmouth. (He made the Response) *And grant us thy Salvation.*

Assistants. (It followed) *O Lord save the King.*

Monmouth. *And mercifully hear us when we call upon thee.*

Assistants. Sir do you not pray for the King with us? (The Versicle was again repeated.)

O Lord save the King!

Monmouth. (After some Pause he answer'd) *Amen.*

Then

Then he spake to the Executioner concerning his undressing, &c. and he would have no Cap, &c. And at the beginning of his undressing, it was said to him in this Manner :

Assistants. My Lord, You have been bred a Soldier, you would do a generous Christian Thing, if you please to go to the Rail, and speak to the Soldiers, and say, That here you stand a sad Example of Rebellion, and intreat them and the People to be loyal and obedient to the King.

Monmouth. I have said I will make no Speeches. I will make no Speeches. I come to die.

Assistants. My Lord, Ten Words would be enough.

Then calling his Servant, and giving him something like a Tooth-pick Case; here (*said he*) give this to the Person, to whom you are to deliver the other Things.

Monmouth. (To the Executioner.) Here are six Guineas for you; Pray do your Business well; don't serve me as you did my Lord *Russel*; I have heard you struck him three or four times.

Here (To his Servant) take these remaining Guineas, and give them to him if he does his Work well.

Executioner. I hope I shall.

Monmouth. If you strike me twice, I cannot promise you not to stir.

During his undressing and standing towards the Block, there were used, by those who assisted him, divers Ejaculations proper at that time, and much of the 51st Psalm was repeated, and particularly, *Deliver me from Blood-guiltiness, O God! Thou God, &c.*

Then he lay down, and soon after he rais'd himself upon his Elbow, and said to the Executioner, Prithce let me feel the Ax; he felt the Edge, and said, I fear it is not sharp enough.

Execu-

Executioner. It is sharp enough, and heavy enough.

Then he lay down again.

During this Space, many pious Ejaculations were used, by those that assisted him, with great Fervency. Ex. gr. *God accept your Repentance, God accept your Repentance, God accept your imperfect Repentance; My Lord, God accept your general Repentance; God Almighty shew his Omnipotent Mercy upon you; Father into thy Hands we commend his Spirit, &c. Lord Jesus receive his Soul.*

Then the Executioner proceeded to do his Office.

This is a true Account. Witness our Hands.

Francis Ely,

Thomas Bath and Wells,

Thomas Tenison,

Geo. Hooper,

William Gostlin,

Peter Vandeput,

} Sheriffs.

A Copy of the Paper, to which the late Duke of Monmouth referred himself in the Discourses he held upon the Scaffold.

I Declare, That the Title of King was forc'd upon me, and that it was very much contrary to my Opinion when I was proclaim'd. For the Satisfaction of the World, I do declare, That the late King told me, he was never married to my Mother. Having declar'd this, I hope that the King, who is now, will not let my Children suffer on this Account. And to this I put my Hand this fifteenth Day of July, 1685.

MONMOUTH.

Hh

Declared

Declared by himself, and sign'd in the Presence
of us,

Francis Ely,
Thomas Bath and Wells,
Thomas Tenison,
George Hooper.

*A Copy of the Duke of MONMOUTH's Letter to
the King, dated from Ringwood, the 8th of Ju-
ly, 1685.*

S I R,

YOUR Majesty may think it is the Mis-
fortune I now lie under makes me make
this Application to you ; but I do assure your Ma-
jesty, it is the Remorse I now have in me, of the
Wrong I have done you in several things, and
now, in taking up Arms against you. For my
taking up Arms, it never was in my Thoughts
since the King died. The Prince and Princess of
Orange will be Witnesses for me, of the Assurance I
gave them, that I would never stir against you ;
but my Misfortune was such, as to meet with
some horrid People, that made me believe Things
of your Majesty, and gave me so many false Ar-
guments, that I was fully led away to believe that
it was a Shame and a Sin before God not to do
it. But, Sir, I will not trouble your Majesty at
present with many things I could say for myself,
that I am sure would move your Compassion ; the
chief End of this Letter being only to beg of
you, that I may have that Happiness as to speak
to your Majesty : For I have that to say to you,
Sir, that I hope may give you a long and happy
Reign. I am sure, Sir, when you hear me, you
will be convinc'd of the Zeal I have for your
Preservation, and how heartily I repent of what
I have done. I can say no more to your Majesty
now,

now, being this Letter must be seen by those that keep me ; therefore, Sir, I shall make an end, in begging of your Majesty to believe so well of me, that I would rather die a thousand Deaths, than excuse any thing I have done, if I did not really think myself the most in the wrong that ever any Man was, and had not, from the Bottom of my Heart, an Abhorrence for those that put me upon it, and for the Action itself. I hope, Sir, God Almighty will strike your Heart with Mercy and Compassion for me, as he has done mine with the Abhorrence of what I have done. Therefore I hope, Sir, I may live to show you how zealous I shall ever be for your Service ; and could I say but one Word in this Letter, you would be convinc'd of it ; but it is of that Consequence that I dare not do it. Therefore, Sir, I do beg of you, once more, to let me speak to you, for then you will be convinc'd how much I shall ever be

Your Majesty's most Humble and Dutiful

MONMOUTH

*The last SPEECH of Madam LISLE, beheaded
at Winchester, September, 1685.*

Gentlemen, Friends, and Neighbours,

IT may be expected that I should say something at my Death, my Birth and Education being near this Place ; my Parents instructed me in the Fear of God ; and I now die of the reformed Religion ; always being instructed in that Belief, that if Popery should return into this Nation, it would be a great Judgment. I die in Expectation of Pardon of my Sins, and Acceptation with the Father, by the imputed Righteousness of Je-

Jesus Christ : *He being the End of the Law for Righteousness to every one that believeth.* I thank God, thro' Christ Jesus, I depart under the Blood of Sprinkling, *that speaketh better things than that of Abel ;* God having made this Chastisement an Ordinance to my Soul. I did as little expect to come to this Place on this Occasion, as any Person in this Nation ; therefore let all learn not to be high-minded, but fear. The Lord is a Sovereign, and will take what Way he seeth best to glorify himself by his poor Creatures ; therefore I humbly desire to submit to his Will, praying of him, that in Patience I may possess my Soul.

The Crime was, my entertaining a Non-conformist Minister, who is since sworn to have been in the Duke of *Monmouth's* Army. I am told, if I had not denied them, it would not have affected me : I have no Excuse but Surprise and Fear ; which I believe my Jury must make use of to excuse their Verdict to the World. I have been told, *That the Court ought to be Council for the Prisoner :* Instead of *Advice*, there was *Evidence* given from thence, which (tho' it was but Hearsay) might possibly affect my Jury. My Defence was such as might be expected from a weak Woman ; but such as it was, I never heard it repeated again to the Jury.

But I forgive all Persons that have wrong'd me ; and I desire that God will do so likewise. I forgive Colonel *Penruddock*, altho' he told me, *He could have taken those Men, before they came to my House.*

As to what may be expected for my Conviction, that I gave it under my Hand that I discours'd with *Nelthrop* ; that could be no Evidence to the Court or Jury, it being after my Conviction and Sentence.

I acknow-

I acknowledge his Majesty's Favour in revoking my Sentence ; and I pray God he may long reign in Peace, as well as Justice ; and that he may reign in Peace, and that the true Religion may flourish under him.

Two things I have omitted to say, which is, That I forgive him that desir'd to be taken from the Grand Jury, and put upon the Petty Jury, that he might be the more nearly concern'd in my Death ; and return humble Thanks to God, and the reverend Clergy, that assisted me in my Imprisonment.

Sept. 85.

ALICIA LISLE.

The Execution of Alderman CORNISH in Cheap-side, Octob. 23, 1685.

I Am come here this Day, condemn'd to die ; but God is my Witness, the Crimes laid to my Charge were falsely and maliciously sworn against me by the Witnesses ; for I never was at any Consult, nor any Meeting, where Matters against the Government were discours'd of : I never heard nor read any Declaration, nor ever acted wilfully any thing against the Government. I confess, thro' the Justice of God, my private Sins have brought me to this infamous End ; yea, it were just with God, not only to deprive me eternally of his Presence, but to condemn me to eternal Torments ; but thro' Christ, I hope to be eternally bless'd : Yet, as to the Crimes for which I suffer, on the Words of a dying Man, I am altogether innocent. I bless God I was from my younger Years brought up in, and have for some Years continu'd a Protestant, in the Communion of the Church of *England* ; in which Communion I now die. I have often partaken in the Ordinances, the blessed Effects and Comfort thereof I now feel in this my Agony. I bless God I was

born under a Government, in the Constitution of which I did ever acquiesce, and in which I was once a Member; at which time I did, according to the best of my Understanding----- [*Here he was interrupted by the Sheriff*]----- I bless God I was born in a Land of Light, where the Gospel hath been preach'd in Power and Purity; he might have brought me forth in a Land of Darkness and Ignorance; but blessed be God for Jesus Christ.--- *Then he intreated the Sheriff to intercede with his Majesty to be kind to his poor Wife and Children: The Sheriff promised him to wait on his Majesty the next Day about it. He replied, Mr. Sheriff, I thank you, the Lord reward you a thousand fold; the Lord put it into the Hearts of you to be kind to the Widows and Fatherless; it is your Duty: The Lord put it into the Hearts of all good People to pray for me.*

More could not be taken, by reason of the Noise of the People, and Interruption of one of the Sheriffs.

The Execution of Col. RICHARD RUMBOLD, at the Market-Cross of Edinburgh, June 26. 1685.

N. B. He was taken in Rebellion in Scotland, with the Earl of Argyle.

THE Hour being come, he was drawn on a Hurdle to the Place of Execution, where he saluted the People on all sides of the Scaffold, and after having refresh'd himself with a Cordial out of his Pocket, he was supported by two Men; while he spoke to the People in these Words:

Gentlemen and Brethren; It is for all Men that come into the World once to die, and after Death to Judgment; and since Death is a Debt that all must pay, it is but a Matter of small Moment what way it be done; and seeing the Lord is pleased in this manner to take me to himself, I confess,
some

Something hard to Flesh and Blood, yet, blessed be his Name, who hath made me not only willing, but thankful for his honouring me to lay down the Life he gave, for his Name; in which, were every Hair in this Head and Beard of mine a Life, I should joyfully sacrifice them for it, as I do this: And Providence having brought me hither, I think it most necessary to clear my self of some Aspersions laid on my Name; and *First*, That I should have had so horrid an Intention of destroying the King and his Brother.

I desire all present to believe me; upon the Words of a dying Man I declare, I never, directly or indirectly, intended such a Villany; I detest the Thoughts of such an Action.

It was also laid to my Charge, That I was Antimonarchical.

It was ever my Thoughts, That Kingly Government was the best of all, justly executed: I mean such as by our ancient Laws; that is, a King, and a legal free-chosen Parliament. The King having, as I conceive, Power enough to make him great, the People also as much Property as to make them happy; they being as it were contracted to one another. And who will deny me, that this was not the just constituted Government of our Nation? How absurd is it then for Men of Sense to maintain, That tho' the one Party of this Contract breaketh all Conditions, the other should be obliged to perform their Part? No; this Error is contrary to the Law of God, the Law of Nations, and the Law of Reason. But as Pride has been the Bait the Devil hath catch'd most by, ever since the Creation, so it continues to this Day with us. Pride caus'd our first Parents to fall from the blessed Estate wherein they were created; they aiming to be higher and wiser than God allowed, which

brought an everlasting Curse on them and their Posterity. It was Pride caused God to drown the old World. And it was *Nimrod's* Pride in building *Babel*, that caused that heavy Curse of Division of Tongues to be spread among us, as it is at this Day. One of the greatest Afflictions the Church of God groaneth under, is, That there should be so many Divisions during their Pilgrimage here; but this is their Comfort, that the Day draweth near, whereas there is but one Shepherd, there shall be but one Sheepfold. It was therefore in the Defence of this Party, in their just Rights and Liberties against Popery and Slavery---- [At which Words they beat the Drums.] To which he said;

They need not trouble themselves; I shall say no more on that Subject, since they are so disingenuous, as to interrupt a dying Man, only to assure the People, I adhere to the true *Protestant Religion*, detesting the erroneous Opinions of many that call themselves so; and I die this Day in the Defence of the ancient Laws and Liberties of these Nations: And tho' God, for Reasons best known to himself, hath not seen it fit to honour us, as to make us the Instruments for the Deliverance of his People; yet as I have lived, so I die in the Faith, that he will speedily arise for the Deliverance of his Church and People. And I desire all of you to prepare for this with speed. I may say this is a deluded Generation, veil'd with Ignorance, that tho' *Popery* and *Slavery* be riding in upon them, do not perceive it; tho' I am sure there was no Man born marked of God above another; for none comes into the World with a Saddle on his Back, neither any booted and spur'd to ride him; not but that I am well-satisfied, that God hath wisely ordered different Stations for Men in the World, as I have already

dy

dy said : Kings having as much Power as to make them great, and the People as much Property of making them happy. And to conclude, I shall only add my Wishes for the Salvation of all Men, who were created for that End.

Then he prayed most fervently near three Quarters of an Hour, freely forgiving all Men, even his greatest Enemies, begging most earnestly for the Deliverance of *Sion* from all her Persecutors, particularly praying for *London*, *Edinburgh*, and *Dublin*, from which the Streams run that rule God's People in these three Nations.

Then he was hang'd and quarter'd, according to his Sentence.

The Execution of Mr. JOHN ASHTON, the 28th
nth of the 1st of January, 1690.

THE Queen having remitted that part of his Sentence, as to drawing and quartering, he went in a Coach, with two Divines, to *Tyburn*, where he was executed, and his Body given to his Relations to bury. He deliver'd this Paper to the Sheriff.

Mr. Sheriff.

Having observ'd that the Methods of making Speeches at the Place of Execution were not always attended with the designed Successes ; and thinking it better to imploy my last Minutes in Devotion, and holy Communion with my God, I have prepared this Paper to leave in your Hands, as well to assert my Principles, as to testify my Innocency.

As to my Religion, I profess, by God's Grace, to die in the Faith into which I was baptized, that of the Church of *England*, in whose Communion (nothing doubting of my Salvation, thro' the Merits of my Saviour) I have always thought
 myself

myself safe and happy. According to her Principles, and late much-esteem'd Doctrine (tho' now unhappily exploded) I have regulated my Life; believing myself obliged, by my Religion, to look upon my rightful, lawful Prince (whatever his Principles were, or his Practices might be) as God's Vicegerent, and accountable (if guilty of Male-administration) to God only, from whom he received his Power; and always believing it to be contrary to the Laws of God, the Church, and the Realm, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against him: And let all the World take Notice in this Belief I die. But I have more particular Obligations to the King, my Master, whom I had the Honour to serve, and received many signal Favours from him, for 16 Years past; so that Gratitude (a thing not much esteemed at this time) as well as Duty and Religion, commanded the utmost Service I could pay him. And when I had these Considerations, That we were born his liege Subjects; That we had solemnly profess'd our Allegiance, and often confirm'd it with Oaths; That his Majesty's Usage, after the Prince of *Orange's* Arrival, was very hard, severe, and (I may say) unjust; and, That all the new Methods of settling this Nation, have hitherto made it more miserable, poor, and more exposed to foreign Enemies; and, That the Religion we pretend to be fond of preserving, is now, much more than ever, likely to be destroyed: There seemed to me no way to prevent the impending Evils, and save these Nations from Poverty and Destruction, but the calling home our injur'd Sovereign; who, as a true Father of his Country, has (notwithstanding all his Provocations and Injuries) a natural Love and Tenderness for all his Subjects. And I am so far from repining at the Loss of my Life, that had I ten

Thou-

Thousand, I should rather think myself obliged to sacrifice them all, than omit any just and honest Means to promote so good and necessary a Work. And I advise and desire all my Fellow-Subjects to think of their Duty, and turn to their Allegiance, before the severe Judgments of God overtake 'em for their Perjury and Rebellion : But certainly the Good and Interest of these Nations, abstracted from all other Considerations, will e'er long convince them of the Necessity of doing it.

Having thus frankly declar'd my Principles, I know the Inference will be, that I have acted accordingly, and consequently, that I am now justly condemn'd : But as I ingenuously own the Inference, so I as positively deny the Consequence; for whatever my Inclinations or Actings have been, yet, as to the Matter I was sentenced to die for, I declare my self innocent. And I will appeal, even to the Judges themselves, whether or no, upon my Trial, there appear'd the least Proof that I knew a Tittle contain'd in the Papers ; but Presumptions were with the Jury thought sufficient to find me guilty , tho' I am told I am the first Man that ever was condemn'd for high-Treason upon bare Suspicion or Presumption ; and that contrary to my Lord Coke's, and other eminent Lawyers, Opinions. The Knowledge of my own Innocency, as to the Indictment and Charge against me, was that that arm'd me with so much Assurance, and occasion'd my casting my Life upon the first Twelve Men of the Pannel, without challenging any. But tho' I have, I think, just reason to complain of the severe Charge given by the Judges, and hard Measure I have receiv'd ; not to mention my close Imprisonment, the hasty and violent Proceedings against me, nor the Industry us'd in the Return of sitting Persons to pass upon me ; the denying me a Copy of the Pannel, &c.

Yet

Yet, as I hope for Pardon and Forgiveness at the Hands of God, I do most heartily pray for, and forgive them, and all my Enemies, all the World; nay, even that Judge and Jury-Man who did so signally (contrary to common Justice) expose themselves to destroy me. But let the Will of God be done, I rely wholly upon his Mercy, and the Merits of my blessed Saviour, for Salvation; I do chearfully and entirely resign myself into his Hands, as into the Hands of a faithful Creator, in sure and certain Hopes of a happy Resurrection.

Bless, protect and strengthen, O Lord God, my good and gracious King and Master: In thy due time let the Virtue, Goodness and Innocency, of the Queen, my Mistress, make all their Enemies blush, and silence the wicked and unjust Calumnies that Malice and Envy have raised against her. Make her and these Nations happy in the Prince of *Wales*; whom, from unanswerable and undoubted Proofs, I know to be her Son. Restore them all, when thou see'st fit, to their just Rights, and on such a Bottom as may support and establish the Church of *England*, and once more make her flourish, notwithstanding what she hath receiv'd of late from her prevaricating Sons. Forgive, forgive, O Lord, all my Enemies; bless all my Friends; comfort and support my dear afflicted Wife, and poor Babes; be thou a Husband and a Father to them; for their sakes only I could have wished to have lived; but pardon that Wish, O good God, and take my Soul into thy everlasting Glory. *Amen.*

J. ASHTON.

The Execution of ROBERT CHARNOCK, EDWARD KING, and THOMAS KEYS, on Wednesday the 18th of March, 1695. Being drawn from Newgate to Tyburn in Sledges, they deliver'd the following Papers to the Sheriff.

Mr. CHARNOCK's Paper.

THAT I might avoid Distractions, and be compos'd as much as is possible at the Time of my Execution, I thought it much more proper to communicate this to the Sheriffs, than to give myself the Uneasiness of speaking, leaving it to them to publish (if they should think convenient) for the Satisfaction of the World; and in what I have to say, I have taken as much Care as I could to be short, that I might not lose time in my greatest Concern.

As concerning an Invasion intended by King James upon England, there was certain Intelligence of it from abroad, I presume every Body was satisfy'd, and to the facilitating of which, I own that myself and some others did agree upon the Undertaking to attack the Prince of Orange and his Guards, for which I am now to suffer; but I think myself oblig'd, by all the Ties imaginable, both of Conscience and Honour, to declare, that as for any Order or Commission of King James's, for assassinating the Prince of Orange, I never saw nor knew of any, but have had frequent Assurances of his having rejected such Proposals when they have been offer'd.

I confess, I did hear that there was a Commission arriv'd for levying of War; and which was natural to believe, if the King was in such a Readiness to come over as was reported; but if there

was

was any such Authority as that, I declare I never saw it.

As to what regards the Body of the *Roman* Catholicks, I must do them this Justice, and which I dare be positive in, that they had no manner of Knowledge of this Design; nor do I believe it was communicated to any other Party of such as are reputed the King's Friends, but carried on merely by a small Number, without the Advice, Consent, or Privity, of any Parties whatsoever.

I ask Forgiveness of all the World for what Offences or Injuries I have done to them; and I am (I bless Almighty God) in perfect Charity with all Mankind.

ROBERT CHARNOCK.

Mr. KING's Paper.

I am now within a few Moments of Eternity, brought to this Place by the just Hand of God, in Punishment of all my Crimes, but particularly of that of which I have been lately arraign'd, and for which I stand here condemn'd; but I hope that Goodness of God, which has given me a Sense of my Wickedness, will accept my Repentance, and shew Mercy on me; which I hope to obtain, through the Passion and Merits of my Redeemer, upon whom I entirely cast myself.

And that I may find his Mercy, I think myself oblig'd to do Justice to my Neighbour, that so none may suffer wrongfully on my Account. and, therefore, as I am soon to answer the Truth of what I say before the Tribunal of God:

First, I declare, that I never saw any Order or Commission for King *James's* promoting the Assassination,

Affassination, for which I am condemn'd; neither do I know of any such Order or Commission.

Secondly, That this Design was not undertaken with any general Knowledge or Approbation of any Body of Men, either Catholick or Protestant.

Lastly, That I did not engage in it on Presumption of any King-killing Principles that could justify such an Undertaking, but was drawn into it by my own Rashness and Passion; for which, and all other Sins, I heartily beseech God to forgive me.

And I hope, that such who think the Misfortune of their Imprisonment or Trouble is derived from my having been engag'd in this Enterprize, or such to whom it has any ways given Scandal, that they will admit me to their Pardon, as I freely and heartily forgive all Mankind. In this Disposition of a sincere Repentance, and true Charity, I commend my Soul into the Hands of God, and hope to find Mercy from him. And for this I beg all your Prayers.

EDWARD KING.

Mr. KEYS's Paper.

I am going to appear before the living God; I trust in his Mercy that he will forgive all my Sins committed to this last Moment of my Life. God is just in all his Judgments, and I accept of this Death as the Punishment of my Iniquities. I forgive all my Enemies, and hope, through a hearty Repentance, and the Merits of my Saviour to obtain Mercy.

Have Mercy on me, O Father of Mercy, and thro' thy only Son forgive me all my Sins.

THOMAS KEYS.

After

After which they were executed as Traytors, and their Quarters expos'd about the City.

The Execution of Major ROBERT LOWICK, CHARLES CRANBURN, and Brigadier ROOKWOOD, at Tyburn, on Wednesday April 29, 1696. Being drawn to Tyburn, Mr. Lowick and Rookwood deliver'd the following Papers to the Sheriffs.

Major LOWICK's Paper.

IN the Name of the most holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, *Amen.* In the first Place, I die in the Religion I was baptiz'd, viz. *Roman* Catholick, and humbly beg the Prayers of all good People for a happy Resurrection, and of all Catholicks for the Good of my Soul.

As for being engag'd in this for which I die, it was never so positive that I had a Horse from the Beginning to the very Last, nor never see any allow'd me, or the two Men I was to provide, as was swore against me at my Tryal; nor had I any on that Account; nor was I at any of their Meetings when they settled any such thing. And as for any Order or Commission from King *James*, I never see any since I came last into *England*, which is now about five Years; and I am confident none that knows King *James* will believe he would give any such Order.

Indeed, I must confess, I believe King *James* was a coming to assert his own Right; and I should, if on Shore, have done any thing in my Power to have assisted him; and, in order to that, I should have been very glad to have had a Horse, but never had any.

And

And as for being concern'd in any bloody Affair, I never was in my Life, but have done my Endeavour to prevent, as much as I could, on all Occasions; and if the killing the most miserable Creature in the World, or greatest Enemy, would now save my Life, restore the King, and make me one of the greatest Men in *England*, I first would chuse to die, because against the Law of God.

If any who are now Sufferers on this Account, think I have been too forward, and a Promoter to this Design, I do now declare it was never my Inclination to do any rash thing. However, I beg their Pardons, and of all the World I have offended, either in Thought, Word, or any Action whatsoever, and do freely forgive my Enemies, and hope, through the Mercy of my Saviour Jesus Christ, to have Remission of all my Sins. Good God preserve the King, Queen, Prince, and Princess, and all that royal Blood of *Stuarts*; and may *England* never want one of that direct Line to govern them, and make them once more happy. I have had the Honour to serve my royal Master in several Commissions, and the last as Major, and strove ever to serve him to the best of my Power, and ever to be just to those whom I had the Honour to command. Lord Jesus into thy Hands I recommend my Spirit! O Jesus, receive my Soul!

ROBERT LOWICK.

Brigadier Rookwood's Paper.

Having committed the Justice of my Cause, and recommended my Soul to God, on whose Mercies, through the Merits of Jesus Christ, I wholly cast myself, I had once resolv'd to die in Silence; but second Thoughts of my Duty to
I i others,

others, chiefly to my true and liege Sovereign King *James*, moved me to leave this behind me.

I do therefore, with all Truth and Sincerity, declare and avow, that I never knew, saw, or heard of any Order or Commission from King *James* for the assassinating the Prince of *Orange*, and attacking his Guards; but I am certainly inform'd that he, the best of Kings, had often rejected Proposals of that Nature, when made unto him.

Nor do I think he knew the least of the particular Design of the attacking the Guards at his Landing, so much talk'd of, in which I was engag'd as a Soldier, by my immediate Commander, much against my Judgment; but his Soldier I was, and as such I was to obey and act according to Command.

These twelve Years I have served my true King and Master, King *James*, and freely now lay down my Life in his Cause. I ever abhor'd Treachery, even to an Enemy; if it be a Guilt to have comply'd with what I thought, and still think, to have been my Duty, I am guilty. No other Guilt do I own.

As I beg all to forgive me, so I forgive all from my Heart, even the Prince of *Orange*, who, as a Soldier, ought to have consider'd my Case before he sign'd the Warrant for my Death. I pray God may open his Eyes, and render him sensible of the much Blood, from all Parts, crying out against him, so to prevent an heavier Execution hanging over his Head, than what he inflicts on me.

AMBROSE ROOKWOOD.

After which they were executed as Traytors, according to their Sentence.

The

*The Execution of Sir JOHN FENWICK, Bart.
on Thursday the 28th of January 1696.*

*All the Punishment being remitted but beheading, he
was brought to a Scaffold erected on Tower-hill,
where he deliver'd this Paper to the Sheriffs.*

SPeaking nor Writing was never my Talent.
I shall therefore give a very short, but faithful Account, first, of my Religion; and next, what I suffer most innocently for, to avoid the Calumnies I may reasonably expect my Enemies will cast upon me when dead; since they have most falsely and maliciously aspersed me, whilst under my Misfortunes.

As for my Religion, I was brought up in the Church of *England*, as it is establish'd by Law, and have ever professed it; tho' I confess I have been an unworthy Member of it, in not living up to the strict and excellent Rules thereof; for which I take Shame to myself, and humbly ask Forgiveness of God. I come now to die in that Communion, trusting, as an humble and hearty Penitent, to be receiv'd by the Mercy of God, thro' the Merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour.

My Religion taught me my Loyalty, which I bless God is untainted; and I have ever endeavoured in the Station wherein I have been placed, to the utmost of my Power, to support the Crown of *England* in the

* I i 2 n T true

true and lineal Course of Descent, without Interruption.

As for what I am now to die, I call God to witness I went not to that Meeting in *Leaden-Hall-Street* with any such Intention as to invite King *James* by Force to invade this Nation; nor was I myself provided with either Horse or Arms, or engaged for any Number of Men, or gave particular Consent for any such Invasion, as is most falsely sworn against me.

I do also declare, in the Presence of God, that I knew nothing of King *James* his coming to *Calais*, nor of any Invasion intended from thence, till it was publickly known. And the only Notion I had that something might be attempted, was from the *Tboulon* Fleet coming to *Brest*.

I also call God to witness that I receiv'd the Knowledge of what is contain'd in those Papers that I gave to a great Man, that came to me in the *Tower*, both from Letters and Messages that came from *France*; and he told me when I read them to him, that the Prince of *Orange* had been acquainted with most of those Things before.

I might have expected Mercy from that Prince, because I was instrumental in saving his Life. For when, about *April, 1695*, an Attempt formed against him came to my Knowledge, I did, partly by Disuasions, and partly by Delays, prevent that Design; which I suppose was the Reason

Reason that the last villainous Project was concealed from me.

If there be any Persons whom I have injur'd in Word or Deed, I heartily pray their Pardon, and beg of God to pardon those who have injur'd me; particularly those who with great Zeal have fought my Life, and brought the Guilt of my innocent Blood upon this Nation, no Treason being prov'd upon me.

I return my most hearty Thanks to those noble and worthy Persons who gave me their Assistance, by opposing this Bill of Attainder, without which, it had been impossible I could have fallen under the Sentence of Death. God bless them and their Posterity; tho' I am fully satisfied they pleaded their own Cause while they defended mine.

I pray God to bless my true and lawful Sovereign King *James*, the Queen, and Prince of *Wales*, and restore him and his Posterity to this Throne again, for the Peace and Prosperity of this Nation; which is impossible to prosper till the Government is settled upon a right Foot.

And now, O God! I do with all humble Devotion commend my Soul into thy Hands, the great Maker and Preserver of Men, and Lover of Souls; beseeching thee that it may be always Dear and Precious in thy
** I i 3* *Sight,*

Sight, through the Merits of my Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

JOHN FENWICK.

Then he submitted to the Block, and the Executioner sever'd his Head from his Body.

The CHARACTER of Mr. CHARLES
BATEMAN.

MR. Bateman was a Man of good Sense, good Courage, and good Company; a very large and generous Temper, and of considerable Repute and Practice in his Calling; a great Lover and Vindicator of the Liberties of the City and Kingdom, and of more Interest than most of his Station. Being kept close Prisoner in *Newgate*, the Windows and Rooms all dark, and little or no Company; having been a free, jolly Man, and us'd to Conversation and Diversion, he soon grew deeply Melancholy, that when he came on his Tryal, he appear'd little less than distract-ed. However, he was found guilty; and just before his Execution very much recover'd himself, dying as much like a Christian, and with a Presence of Mind inferior to few that have suffer'd.

The

The Execution of Sir JOHN FRIEND and Sir WILLIAM PERKINS, on Friday the 3d of April, 1696. Being drawn to Tyburn in Sledges, they deliver'd the following Papers to the Sheriffs.

Sir JOHN FRIEND's Paper.

KNowing that I must immediately give an Account to God of all my Actions, and that I ought to be especially careful of what I say in these last Hours, I do solemnly profess, that what I here deliver is from my very Soul, with all the Heartiness and Sincerity of a dying Christian.

The Cause I am brought hither to suffer for, I do firmly believe to be the Cause of God and true Religion, and, to the best and utmost of my Knowledge and Information, agreeable to the Laws of the Land, which I have evermore heard do require a firm Duty and Allegiance to our Sovereign; and that as no foreign, so neither any domestick Power can alienate our Allegiance. For it is altogether new and unintelligible to me, that the King's Subjects can depose and dethrone him on any Account, or constitute any that have not an immediate Right in his Place. We ought, I think, not to do this; and surely, when it is done, to assist him in the Recovery of his Right, is justifiable, and our Duty. And however things may seem at present, I do believe, I am sure I heartily pray, that he shall be one Day restor'd to his rightful Throne and Dominions.

As for any sudden Descent of his Majesty upon these his Dominions, in order to the Recovery of them, I declare I had no certain Knowledge of it; nor can I tell what Grounds there was to be-

lieve it, so little Reason had I to be in a present Preparation for it. I suppose it is not expected I should here endeavour to clear myself of the *Assassination*, which was not the thing alledg'd against me; however, it was mention'd, through what Means I know not: As it was insinuated to my Disadvantage, I forgive such as were therein instrumental; and I do also, from the very Bottom of my Soul, freely forgive, and beg of God to do so too, such as were any ways necessary towards the taking away my Life, which I really look upon to be their Misfortune more than mine.

I profess my-self, and I thank God I am so, a Member of the Church of *England*; though, God knows, a most unworthy and unprofitable Part of it; of that Church which suffers so much at present for a strict Adherence to Loyalty, the Laws and Christian Principles; *For this I suffer, and for this I die.*

Tho' I have a perfect Charity for People of all Professions, and do heartily wish well, and would endeavour to do so to all my Fellow-Subjects, of what Persuasion soever. And indeed I have met with a great deal of Uprightness and Sincerity among some People of very different Opinions in religious Matters.

And I hope and desire it may not be taken an uncharitable Censure, or undue Reflection, that I objected to the Legality of Popish Evidence, being advis'd so to do for my better Security, upon the Foundation of a Statute-Law.

Having owned myself a Member of the Church of *England*, I must take this Opportunity, and I do it for God's Glory, to apply myself to you that are Royalists of that Church, and of the same Faith and Principles with myself: And I beg of you, for God's sake, and the Love of
your

your Souls, to be very constant and serious in all religious Offices, and holy Duties, of divine Worship and Service, which I have too much neglected, as I own to my great Sorrow : Let no Excuse, no Dangers, prevent or hinder you in these most necessary and serious Matters ; and be, I beseech you, very careful and circumspect in all your Actions, Behaviour, and Conversation, as I earnestly exhorted all that came to me.

I have, I thank God, a great deal of Satisfaction in my present Sufferings, and have found it so ever since I have been under them : And blessed be God it doth continually increase upon me. And I do now lay down my Life with all Chearfulness and Resignation, in sure and certain Hope of a Resurrection to eternal Life, through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whose Merits alone I hope for the Pardon of my Sins, and the Salvation of my Soul.

And so, O Lord ! into thy Hands I commend my Spirit ; for thou hast redeemed me, O Lord ! thou God of Truth.

JOHN FRIEND.

Sir WILLIAM PERKINS's Paper.

IT hath not been my Custom to use many Words, and I shall not be long upon this Occasion, having Business of much greater Consequence to employ my Thoughts upon. I thank God I am now in a full Disposition to Charity, and therefore shall make no Complaints, either of the Hardships of my Trial, or any other Rigours put upon me. However, one Circumstance I think myself oblig'd to mention. It was sworn against me by Mr. Porter, That I had own'd to him that I had seen and read a Commission from

the King to levy War upon the Person of the Prince of *Orange*. Now, I must declare, that the Tenor of the King's Commission, which I saw, was general, and directed to all his loving Subjects, to raise and levy War against the Prince of *Orange*, and his Adherents; and to seize all Forts, Castles, &c. which, I suppose, may be a customary Form of giving Authority to make War; but I must confess I am not much acquainted with Matters of that Nature: But as for my Commission particularly levell'd against the Person of the Prince of *Orange*, I neither saw nor heard of any such.

It's true, I was privy to the Design upon the Prince, but was not to act in it; and am fully satisfied that very few, or none, knew of it but those who undertook to do it.

I freely acknowledge, and think it for my Honour to say, that I was entirely in the Interest of the King, being always firmly persuaded of the Justice of his Cause; and look'd upon it as my Duty, both as a Subject, and an *Englishman*, to assist him in the Recovery of his Throne, which I believe him to be depriv'd of, contrary to all Right and Justice; taking the Laws and Constitutions of my Country for my Guide.

As for Religion, I die in the Communion of the Church of *England*, in which I was educated.

And as I freely forgive all the World, so whoever I may any ways have injur'd, I heartily ask them Pardon.

WILLIAM PERKINS.

After which they were executed according to their Sentence.

*The Execution of HAAGEN SWENDSEN, the
Day of 1702. Being brought
to the Place of Execution, he referred himself to
the following Paper, which he left with the two Di-
vines who attended him.*

I Do believe the World will expect I should say something for their Satisfaction. That I had a Design to have Mrs. *Rawlins* for my Wife is most true. I was told of her by a Neighbour and Friend of hers, and then made a further Enquiry, and found her Quality such as I might, without any Exceptions, presume to, her Father being the Son of a Tradesman; the next was, how to get into her Acquaintance; and not knowing how to be introduc'd, I prevail'd with, and perswaded Mrs. *Baynton* to take a Lodging in the same House with Mrs. *Rawlins*, by which Means I found easy Access to my Wishes, and was as welcome to the Family, as if I had been one of themselves. I had their Company on Board a Ship, where I gave them an Entertainment, and was invited to dine with them, and by degrees I possess'd my self of Mrs. *Rawlins's* Affection so far, that she seem'd uneasy without me, and frequently importun'd for my speedy Return, and oblig'd me to sit next to her at Table, saying, that if I did not, she would not eat, and treated me with many private Caresses, by which Lovers, who have not frequent Opportunity of speaking, do by Signs and Tokens express themselves.

I do declare that I had as good Reception as a Lover could wish for, and all the Encouragement imaginable; insomuch that nothing seem'd disagreeable to my Intentions, but all things did pro-

mise to facilitate my Design with Success, she herself having told me that she was at her own Disposal, and would marry to please herself.

My Familiarity with Mrs. *Rawlins* before my Marriage was so great, that there was no Room left for me to practise Violence upon her; tho' I must say I was impatient of Delays, and wish'd for an Opportunity to accomplish my Desire.

But as for the unhappy Contrivance of the arresting Mrs. *Rawlins*, I had no share in it, but was persuaded to consent to it by Mr. H---- and his Wife; and when the Intrigue was brought to Perfection, I comply'd, and laid hold of the Opportunity, in order to marry Mrs. *Rawlins*, which with little Difficulty, and less Persuasion, I accomplish'd; so having, without any Force or Violence, declar'd to the Minister that she was at her own Disposal, and free to marry me, which the Minister declar'd in open Court, at my Tryal.

After we had been in Bed, comes in one Mr. *Bennet*, a Constable, with some of Mrs. *Rawlins*'s Relations, who requir'd me to go with them before a Justice of Peace; finding they had no Warrant, I refus'd to give Obedience to their Commands, which created some Dispute; and my Wife hearing the Noise, came out of the Bed-Chamber, desiring me to be quiet, and let her speak to them; which accordingly she did, in these express Words following, *viz. Cousin, I have married this Gentleman with my own free Consent; he is my Husband; and this is my Wedding Ring, shewing the Ring on her Finger: As for Mr. Busby, I will give him under my Hand he shall come into no Trouble, and what would you have more?*

Then said they, if it be so, then God bless you both together, and drank a Flask of Wine or two with me, and then departed; they were no soon-
er

er gone; but I ask'd her, whether she would be willing to appear and declare what she had said to her Friends to a Justice of Peace, and she said she would with all her Heart; then we went to Mr. Justice *Baber*, in *York-buildings*, and declar'd the same to him; he told her he would take Notice of her Face, and bid her stick to that.

The next Day, about eleven of the Clock, there came a Constable with a Warrant, and carried us before the Recorder, unto whom she said the same thing over and over. Then said the Recorder, *Alas! Child, they made you drunk, and you did not know what you did.* To which she answer'd, *That there were a great many there present that knew her Life and Conversation, that she did not use to be drunk;* and when the Recorder could not prevail with her, he conceiv'd, that my being personally with her, oblig'd her to stand so firm to her Marriage; he then order'd me to be pull'd away by Force from her, at which she fell a weeping; how she afterwards was lectur'd by her Friends, was sufficiently attested by my Prosecution, Tryal, and Sentence; and after I was committed to *Newgate*, I was remov'd by a *Habeas Corpus* to the *Queen's-Bench Bar*, there to be arraign'd, and pleaded Not guilty to the Indictment. I pleaded for longer time to prepare for my Tryal, but was allow'd but four Days; when I was brought to my Tryal, I mov'd for a Council to plead my Cause, as being a Stranger, and not acquainted with the Laws of *England*; my Life being thus at Stake, a powerful Interest against me, and the Court not for me, render'd my Case both despicable and deplorable; and as for some of my Evidence, I do verily believe they were bribed by the adverse Party, others taken off by sinister Art, and some hinder'd by Force from appearing in Court for me.

As

As for Mr. Justice *Baber*, he shew'd himself but coldly in giving his Testimony, and said, that my Wife did confess before him, that she was marry'd by her own free Consent ; but at the same Time he added, that she seem'd very much disorder'd : As for that Gentleman, I forgive him, and shall leave God to be Judge between him and me.

It is to be noted, That my Wife did not deny, in open Court, that she had made the Declaration aforesaid, of her Marriage, to Mr. *Bennet*, the Constable, and others, that Night we were marry'd ; but said, she did not know what she did when she said so, and many other things she positively, upon Oath, denied at my Tryal ; which makes me have Pity upon her poor Soul, considering she confess'd many things at Mrs. *Baynton's* Tryal, which she denied upon Oath at mine : The World may see what it is to be a Stranger, and unacquainted with the Laws ; nay, I myself heard my Wife openly confess in Court, in Mrs. *Baynton's* Tryal, *That there was a young Lady in the World, who was at her own Disposal, that wish'd me a good Wife*, and at last confess'd she herself was the Person.

Amongst my many Misfortunes, I was represented by my Wife's Friends to the Court, to be a Sharper and a Bully ; but I call'd in, and produc'd several Gentlemen of Repute, to give Account of my Life and Conversation, who have accordingly attested the Honesty of my Principles by my Practice.

It is further observable how my Jury disagreed about the Verdict. There was one of them, Mr. *Erasmus Johnson*, a Person to me altogether a Stranger ; for I declare, in the Presence of Almighty God, that I do not remember to have been in his Company three times in my Life, except

cept in Church : This Mr. *Johnson* alledg'd, that none of the Evidence did prove, or swear, that I had any Hand in the Arrest, nor us'd any Force or Violence to the Gentlewoman, but she confess'd the Marriage, which was prov'd by several Witnesses ; which render'd my Case so hard, that the said Mr. *Johnson* insisted upon it to have me discharg'd, according to the Dictates of his Conscience ; but at last he was over-rul'd.

Since my Conviction I have us'd all the Means I could to procure my Pardon ; but finding little or no Probability of it, I am now going to beg for Entrance at the Gate of Mercy in Heaven, which I beseech God to open for me.

I expected my Tryal should be publish'd, that the World might see my Treatment ; what I have done, and what I have left undone in my Case ; but I am inform'd it may not be printed. I have said this only to do myself Justice, altho' I could say a great deal more of Moment to the purpose ; but my Time being so very short and precious, I must employ that little Time to the saving of my most precious Part, my Soul.

I humbly beseech Mankind to believe me ; and that I have said, or shall say, are the Words of a dying Man ; this is not the time for me to equivocate, nor to go out of the World with a Lie in my Mouth : I do therefore declare, and call the great Omnipotent God of Heaven to my Witness, that I have asserted nothing, to the best of my Knowledge, but the whole Truth, nor utter'd a Syllable out of Malice, or Bitterness of Heart, against any Person whatsoever ; but so far from it, I do frankly forgive all my Enemies, and beseech God to put it in their Hearts to repent of their Sins.

As

As for my Wife, I am so much in Charity with her, that I cannot believe the Severity extended to me, did altogether proceed from herself, but her consenting to spill my Blood, makes the Guilt her own. God of his great Mercy give her a true Sense of her Crimes, that the heavy Judgment hanging over her Head may not descend on her.

As for Mrs. *Baynton*, who is likewise under Sentence of Death on the same Account with myself, as I have in the Court, so do I now again positively declare she had no Hand in the Intrigue of my Marriage, any more than what she did by my special Direction and Persuasion; for Mrs. *Baynton* was wholly a Stranger to Mrs. *Rawlins*, untill the unhappy Contrivance of my Marriage made them acquainted, neither did I know Mrs. *Baynton* till *June* last past; tho' some have been pleas'd to say that I kept her Company for three Years, and have had two Children by her; all which I declare is a wrong Notion, and nothing of Truth in it. The only Load I have on my Conscience is her Death, of which I am the unhappy Instrument. I beseech God in his Mercy to move the Queen's Clemency to spare her Life, that her Blood may not rise in Judgment against me.

As for myself, I am now a going to suffer an ignominious Death, for a Crime which my own Conscience doth not accuse me of, but the Rigour of the Law hath made it my unpardonable Crime. And as I forgive all Mankind, so I beg Forgiveness of those, whom, thro' Inadvertency, or otherwise, I have injur'd or offended, beseeching God, of his great Mercy, to vouchsafe them Forgiveness whensoever they shall ask it.

My great Comfort is that I have reconcil'd my self with my God, and that I die in my natural Senses, and that short time I have had since my Tryal, I trust in my Saviour, I have not mispent.

And now, O Lord God! of thy infinite Goodness hear my Petition, pardon my Offences, and forgive me my Sins, forgive mine Enemies, and lay not my Blood to their Charge, but grant that a sincere Repentance may wash away their Guilt.

I am now going out of this Vale of Calamity and Sin to my eternal Repose, where, thro' the Merits of my Saviour Jesus Christ, I hope to see God in his Glory; and so I conclude, *O Lord receive my Soul into thy boundless Mercy, for the Merits of my Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.*

After which the Executioner did his Office.

The Paper deliver'd by Mr. GREGG to the Sheriffs, at the Place of Execution, April 28, 1708.

THE Crime I am now justly to suffer for, having made a great Noise in the World, a Paper of more than ordinary Length will be expected from the Criminal; who therefore takes this last Opportunity to profess his utter Abhorrence, and sincere Repentance of all his Sins against God, and of the heinous Crime committed against the Queen, whose Forgiveness I most humbly implore; as I shall heartily pray for her Majesty's long Life and happy Reign over her united People, and Success against her Enemies, with my parting Breath. This being all the Satisfaction I can make injur'd Majesty.

I declare in the next Place, the Reparation I would make, were it in my Power, to those of her Majesty's Subjects I have wronged in any kind,

kind, and particularly the Right Honourable *Robert Harley*, Esq; whose Pardon I heartily beg, for basely betraying my Trust : Which Declaration, tho' of itself sufficient to clear the said Gentleman, yet for the sake of those whom it was my Misfortune not to be able to satisfy in my Lifetime, I do sacredly protest, that as I shall answer it before the Judgment-Seat of Christ, the Gentleman aforesaid was not privy to my writing to *France*, directly nor indirectly ; neither I, his unworthy Clerk, any ways necessary to the Miscarriage before *Thoulon*, nor the Losses by Sea ; all which happen'd before the first of my Letters, which was writ the 24th of *October*, 1707.

As for my Creditors, as I am in no Condition to satisfy them, so I earnestly beg they would forgive me ; and I pray God to make up their Losses to them seven-fold.

For my own Part, I do freely forgive all Men, and die in perfect Charity with them ; not without humble Hopes of finding Forgiveness, thro' the Merits of Jesus Christ, with God ; who in Mercy touched my Conscience so powerfully from the beginning, as to prevent my prostituting the same to save my Life ; for which Instances of his Love, to be preferr'd before Life itself, I bless and magnify his holy Name with unspeakable Joy and Comfort at my Death, nothing near so ignominious as would have been such a Life.

After this Confession, the Duty of a dying Man leads me to profess the Religion in which I was brought up, and do now die, which is the Protestant ; the Scandal given whereunto, by my enormous Practices, can't be better taken away, than by my publishing to the World my hearty Sorrow for those sensual Pleasures which have prov'd my Bane. Wherefore let all that shall read this
poor

poor Paper take Warning by me to shun the like youthful Lusts, to which, whoever gives up himself, can't tell how far they may, when indulg'd, carry him, even to the committing of such Crimes as he thought himself incapable of some time a-day; of which sad Truth, I, to my woeful Experience, am a melancholy Instance; but at the same time, I appeal to the Great God, before whom I am now going to appear, that notwithstanding all the Pains taken to make me out an old Offender, by fastening on me the Crime of counterfeiting the Coin, this is the first Fault that ever I ventured upon, which was not out of any Zeal to the Pretender, whom I not only disown at my Death, but solemnly declare, that in all my Life I never thought he had any Right to these Realms, how foolishly soever I may have render'd my self obnoxious in this Particular: But the only Motive of my mad Undertaking was Money, of which I never received any on account of the Ship-pass, though I have met with the more just Reward of such secret Services, intended by

W. GREGG.

F I N I S.



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